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Records
of
Buckinghamshire.
vol 3.

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, AUGUST 19, 1862.

“The Society has now been in existence fourteen years, and during that period has increased steadily in the number of its Members, and received several donations to its Library and Museum. Since the last Report, in 1854, the Society has printed annually and distributed to its Members gratis two Numbers of the Records, which contain the various papers read at the Meetings, an account of the Restoration of Churches in the County, and a record of the discovery of Ancient Relics. The printing the two Numbers of the Records, with the illustrations, is more than the Society anticipated at its formation, and the expense has necessarily become so great that your Committee deemed it expedient to recommend at the last Annual Meeting an alteration in Rule 4, to the effect that each Member shall in future pay an Annual Subscription of not less than 6s., or shall compound for the same for five years by one payment of £1 5s., or for life by one payment of £5. This alteration came into operation on the 1st of January of the current year. In consequence of the small attendance at the Quarterly Meetings, your Committee consider it desirable to hold, instead of them, one General Meeting Annually. These Meetings have been held in Aylesbury about Christmas, and have been well attended. Since the last Report, Annual Meetings have been held in Buckingham, Eton, Newport Pagnell, and Amersham. In the year 1858, on the resignation of the Rev. H. Wanklyn, as *Hon. Sec.*, the Rev. C. Lowndes and the Rev. H. Roundell were appointed to act with the Rev. W. H. Kelke, who continued in office. In the same year, a room in Silver-street, Aylesbury, was taken as a

depository for the property of the Society, where the members have an opportunity of reading and borrowing the Books. Your Committee have now taken, on a lease of six years, two Rooms in Church-street, lately occupied by Mr. Bingle, and belonging to the Bedford Charity, with the view of removing the Library from the room in Silver-street, and forming a permanent Museum for the County in connection with the Society. The following gentlemen have already promised donations, viz.:—Sir Harry Verney, £5 5s.; Hon. W. Cavendish, £5; Right Hon. B. Disraeli, £5; C. G. Du Pre, Esq., £10; Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, £5; J. Lee, Esq., £5; S. G. Smith, Esq., £5; J. G. Hubbard, Esq., £5; T. T. Bernard, Esq., £2 2s.; Captain Burgess, £1. Your Committee appeal to the Members, and the County generally, for further donations towards this object, and will be happy to receive presents for the Museum. A Sub-Committee has been appointed to carry out this proposal.”

COUNTY MUSEUM.

SOCIETY'S ROOMS, CHURCH STREET,

Aylesbury, October 24th, 1862.

The Committee appointed for providing a suitable Room for a MUSEUM for this Society have to state that they have secured some premises in CHURCH STREET, which may serve conveniently for laying the foundation of such an Institution, and they propose to fit up the Rooms without delay, and to gather the various objects of interest, the property of the Society, to that centre.

As the fitting up of the Rooms will necessarily involve a considerable outlay, the Committee earnestly solicit Contributions for this purpose.

The Society's Rooms will be open every WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY from Ten until Four o'Clock.

NOTES

ON FOUR INVENTORIES OF GOODS OF MEMBERS OF THE
FAMILIES OF HAMPDEN AND LEE OF HARTWELL.

FURNISHED BY JOHN LEE, ESQ., LL.D.,
OF HARTWELL HOUSE.

By G. H. SAWTELL, Esq.

These curious and valuable family documents are Inventories of the moveable possessions of three generations of the House of Hampden of Hartwell, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I., and of Thomas Lee their kinsman, in the year 1572.

It need scarcely be observed that at the date of these documents, and until a much later period, the growth of commerce equalized (as it has since, to our loss, reversed) the relative importance of land and personal, or moveable effects, the list of a great man's goods afforded a very inadequate criterion of his real position. These chattels, but not his lands, were liable to his ordinary debts, while if he contracted obligations under seal and died intestate, the heir was liable to them—on the other hand, if he devised away his lands, the bond creditors came but poorly off.

The Ordinary (or chief clerical authority) of the district exercised the sole jurisdiction of committing to the nearest of kin of a deceased person, the administration of his personal effects, stipulating, however, that an account should be rendered, which obligation appears in those days to have been punctually fulfilled. In our own times the custom was "honored in the breach," so far as the Ordinary was concerned, until the entire suppression of his jurisdiction, four years ago. The Crown, which has (now) resumed the rights once exercised by the Clergy in this respect, has, for a long series of years, required an account with Inventories, from the executor, in connexion with the payment of Legacy duty.

The Surtees Society has published a small volume of ancient Inventories connected with the North Riding of

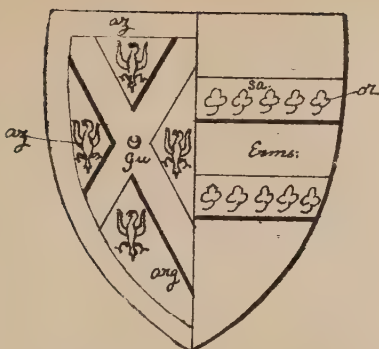
Yorkshire. The items set out in those before us offer no special topics on which to comment, and it has not, therefore, been thought worth while to transcribe them at length. Like their descendants, our forefathers recognised the necessity for tables, chairs, joint-stools, hangings and bedsteads, and even books, though the entire library comprised in one of the Inventories before us is appraised only at that significant fraction of a pound inseparably connected, in the minds of men, with the process of seeking legal advice.

1. Of the Inventory-Rolls which the kindness of Dr. Lee has supplied for our inspection, the first is a list of the Goods and Debts of *Jerome Hampden* of Hartwell, in 33rd Henry VIII. (1541), upon which a similar list of the goods of Dame Alice Hampden is endorsed, Jerome having been her executor. Jerome Hampden was sixth in descent from Richard Hampden of Great Hampden, who married Elizabeth Singleton the heiress of Hartwell, which her father had obtained by marrying Agnes, the heiress of Thomas Stokes, whose wife Eleanor was the heiress of Sir Robert Luton, Knight, whose grandfather married Alice, the daughter and heiress of William Hartwell of Hartwell.

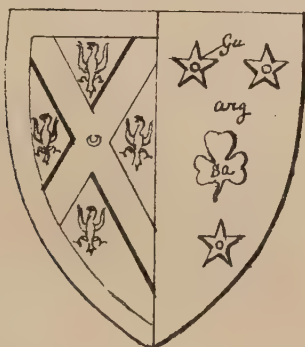
It is to be feared that Jerome was the reverse of a domestic character, barely a third of the Roll is occupied by his goods, one of the most valuable articles of which, is "a payre of Virginalles," worth 13s. 4d. There is also a "littell bottell," basons and ladles suggestive of punch, and one statute-book, no doubt owing to his being in the Commission. But far longer is the list of his "apparell"—cloth slashed and guarded with velvet—black satin doublet—gorgeous caps and hose, and so forth. Then comes a modest shew of "Stock," 3 oxen, 41 kyne, 1 bull, 2 calves, £91 in all, and 6s. 8d. ready money, wherewith to pay £230 11s. 1d. of debts owing to thirty-five creditors, among whom appear Sir Anthony Lee £21 6s. 8d.,—Churchmen of Hartwell 7s. 6d.,—Master Hampden forty Shillings, school master 8s. 3d.,—Sir Rauf Verney forty Shillings, Richard Hampden £3 6s. 8d.

Alice Hampden left no debts, but good store of kitchen stuff and bedding, and a modest little display of salvers, cups, and spoons—worth £15 odd—total £38.

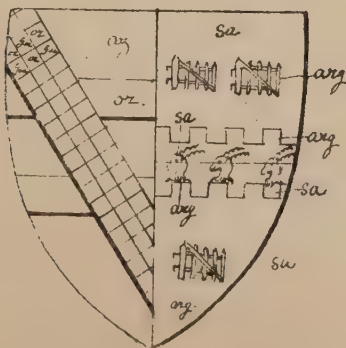
Richard Hampden, the brother of Jerome, was buried



Jerome Hampden impaled with Elines.



Michael Hampden with Ashfield



Thomas Lee with Yate.

at Great Kimble, in 1567—his heart was taken to Hartwell and there interred.

Jerome's Widow resided at Owlswick, in Monks Risborough.

2. The Inventory of *Michael Hampden* of Hartwell, eldest son and heir of Jerome, in 1570, is that of a more steady and prosperous person. No debts are returned as due from him, but one Watson owed him £6 13s. 4d. The old Virgin alswe're still in the parlour; and ten spits in the kitchen sound hospitable, so does the garniture of the best among the many bedchambers—"A bedstead with a canopy of tafeta curtains of sarsnet—bedd of downe bolster and two pillows of downe—pair of blankets, "counterpoint" of arras with a mattress"—£20 in all.

The Chapel was furnished as a bedchamber. The plate consists of two dozen silver spoons, valued at £8—three silver salts gilt—three silver bowls and a cover, £24 13s. 4d. In the stable "item, the hobbie £5"—"item, the sorrel gelding £5"—"item, the grey mare £5"—the other horses are of less value—other noticable items are, 800 sheep £266 13s. 4d.—16 ploughing oxen £37 6s. 8d.—apparel £10—the grand total £757.

3. 1572, 14 *Elizabeth*.—*Thomas Lee* of Morton in Dinton, and of East Claydon. This gentleman was the Father by Ursula his wife (of the family of Yate of Witney), of Sir Thomas Lee, of Claydon and Morton, whose marriage with Elleanor Hampden brought the Hartwell property to the Lees.

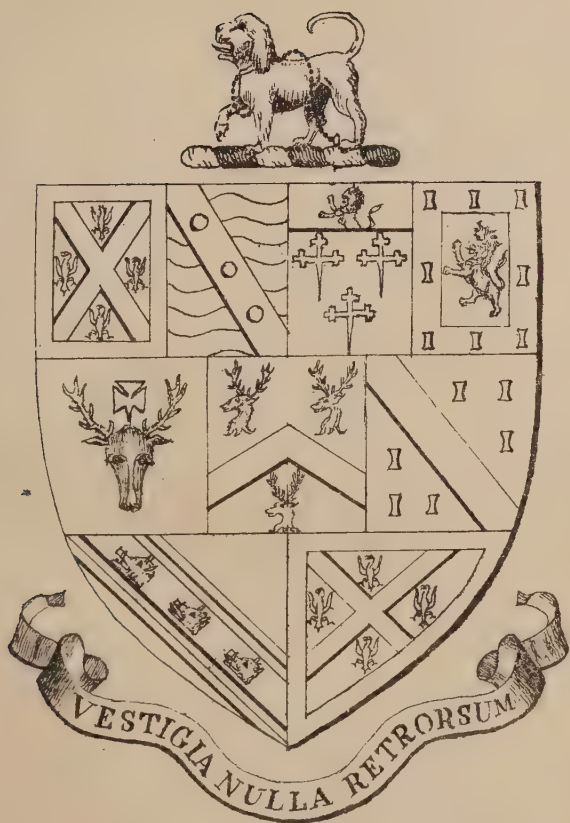
Saving the mention of "Andyrons,"* this Inventory might have been made yesterday.—The plate here is not abundant—two salts—1½ dozen spoons—a silver cup and a stone cup garnished with silver and gilt—worth £11 in all—clothes only £4—farming and dairy stock well kept up—brewery furnished with all things needful—oxen, 22 in the grove, valued at £50—besides yearlings, colts, and 230 ewes, worth £33 6s. 8d. Then in the marsh, 13 fat oxen, a bull, 13 rams—30 quarters of beans and barley, prised at £10—and large stocks at Bishopstone and Clay-

* "*Andyrons*" viz. end-irons, the ornaments on each side of the hearth in old houses which supported the dogs. The drawing fire-place at "Lilies" has still a pair of very neat andirons, and a pair of very large ones exists at the Episcopal palace at Wells, with accompanying fire-irons of very early date.

don ; horses, ploughs, "waynes" and such like—forming a grand total of £642 5s. 11d., besides "dyvers beastes" given by will.

4. We lastly come to Sir Alexander Hampden, of Hartwell, 1617—the son and heir of Michael. This eminent and worthy person was Sheriff in 1591, and was knighted by James I., at his own house, in 1603. His sister Eleanor, by her marriage with Sir Thomas Lee, of Claydon, Knight, brought the Manor and Estate of Hartwell into that Family as before mentioned. Sir Alexander resided much at Hampden House, in his capacity of guardian to the celebrated John Hampden, and there is a portrait at Hampden House, supposed to represent him; the figure holds a sword with the point resting on a Bible. An Alexander Hampden, supposed to be his son, was imprisoned for engaging in Waller's plot. One of his daughters was married to Lord Wenman, the other to loyal Sir Alexander Denton, of Hillesdon, whose sufferings from siege, wounds, and imprisonment in the Royal cause form a well-known episode in the curious contemporary record called "*Mercurius Rusticus*."

Sir Alexander Hampden possessed abundance of goods and chattels of the usual sort. The inmates of his Mansion were many—there was "Mistris Ann Hampden's chamber (this was his cousin, who was munificently remembered in his will)—"The old Lady's Chamber"—"Sir Thomas Wayneman's Chamber" (this was Sir Alexander's son-in-law, a son of Sir Richard Wenman, of Thame Park)—"Mrs. Bowman's Chamber"—"The Armory," with £30 worth of armour in it not particularized—"Mrs. Highen's Chamber,"—and "Mr. Hawtrey's Chamber,"—Mr. Alexander Hawtrey was of the Checkers family and the testator's kinsman, and he appears to have been his steward. The books and money come to £21.—The plate forms an item of £100.—Sir Alexander had a large farming stock—in all above £2,000 worth, besides £1,343 worth at the deceased's Manor House of Burford, Oxon. Some of the items are subjoined—60 acres sown with wheat, £120,—68 beans and peas, £70,—16 barley, £32,—50 quarters of barley, £50,—30 quarters of wheat, £48,—20 quarters of peas, £14,—20 horses, mares, and colts, £60,—11 fat oxen and 4 steers, £100,—sheep in Abbot's Hill, £200.



Sir Alexander Hamblenden.

Sir Alexander and his widow, whose maiden name is not recorded, were buried at Hartwell, and their remains were removed to the New Church.

DISCOVERY OF MEDIÆVAL POTTERY AT MENTMORE.

In the early part of the summer of 1862, as some excavations were being made for the foundation of a Laundry at the back of "the Cottage" at Mentmore, the property and late the residence of Baron Meyer de Rothschild, M. P., a mediæval Jug was discovered, which has been assigned by competent authorities to the 14th or 15th century. It is 13 inches high, and a remarkably nice specimen of pottery at that period. The lines are small bedes, evidently stuck on before the clay was baked; those which cross each other are of a dark red colour, while those of the small rude diamond shape in the space formed by the crossing of these red bedes, are the same colour as the Jug. The annexed engraving is from a wood-cut which has been kindly presented to the Society by Mr. James, of Aylesbury.



Mediæval Pottery discovered at Mentmore, 1862.

From a Photograph, by Mr. J. C. May, Aylesbury.

THE SCULPTURED MONUMENTS OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, PRIOR TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

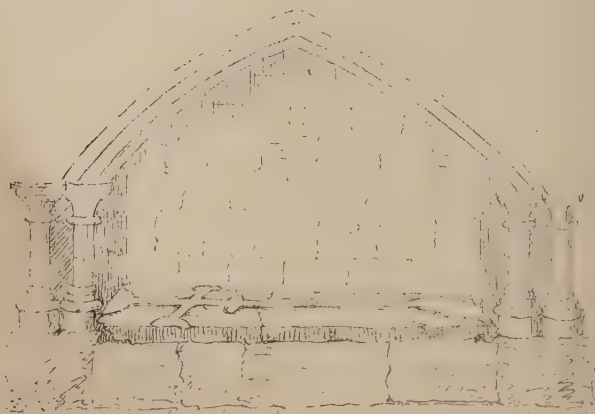
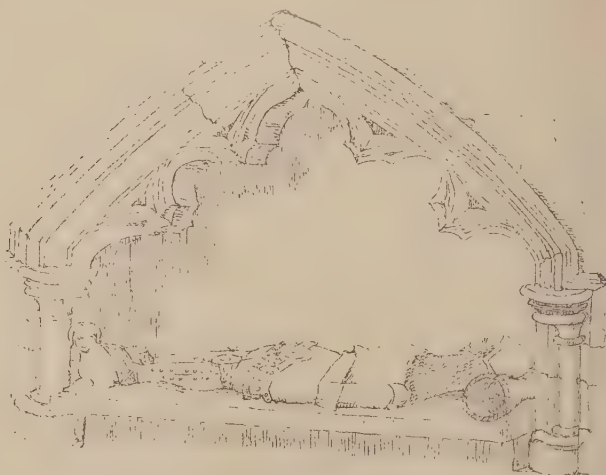
BY THE REV. W. HASTINGS KELKE.

The Sepulchral Brasses of this county, which are very numerous, have already received a moderate share of attention. The most remarkable of them have been described in different publications, and fac-similies, or "rub-bings" of them, have been occasionally exhibited at our Meetings. But the ancient sculptured monuments of the county, have hitherto scarcely been noticed, although they are of an interesting character and but very few in number. I trust therefore, that some account of them, however superficial, may not be unacceptable to this Meeting.

The scarcity of such memorials in this county, does not arise, as might be supposed, from the local deficiency of suitable materials for sculpture, but from the number that have been destroyed, or allowed to perish, from the want of proper care. Many were destroyed at the Reformation. Although Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation against the breaking or defacing any sepulchral monuments, in the second year of her reign, and a more stringent one in the 14th, yet, as we learn from Weever, many were wilfully demolished by lawless zealots. More were, undoubtedly, destroyed at the great Rebellion, when—

"The civil fury of the time
Made sport of sacrilegious crime,
And peasant hands the tombs o'erthrew."

Still, since we find some monuments left in Churches that were occupied by the soldiery of the civil wars, there must have been some respect for the memorials of the dead, even in the rude heart of many a roisterous Cavalier and fanatical Roundhead. It was, indeed, left to a far different age,—an age which plumed itself on its classic



In S. Mary's Aylesbury Bucks.

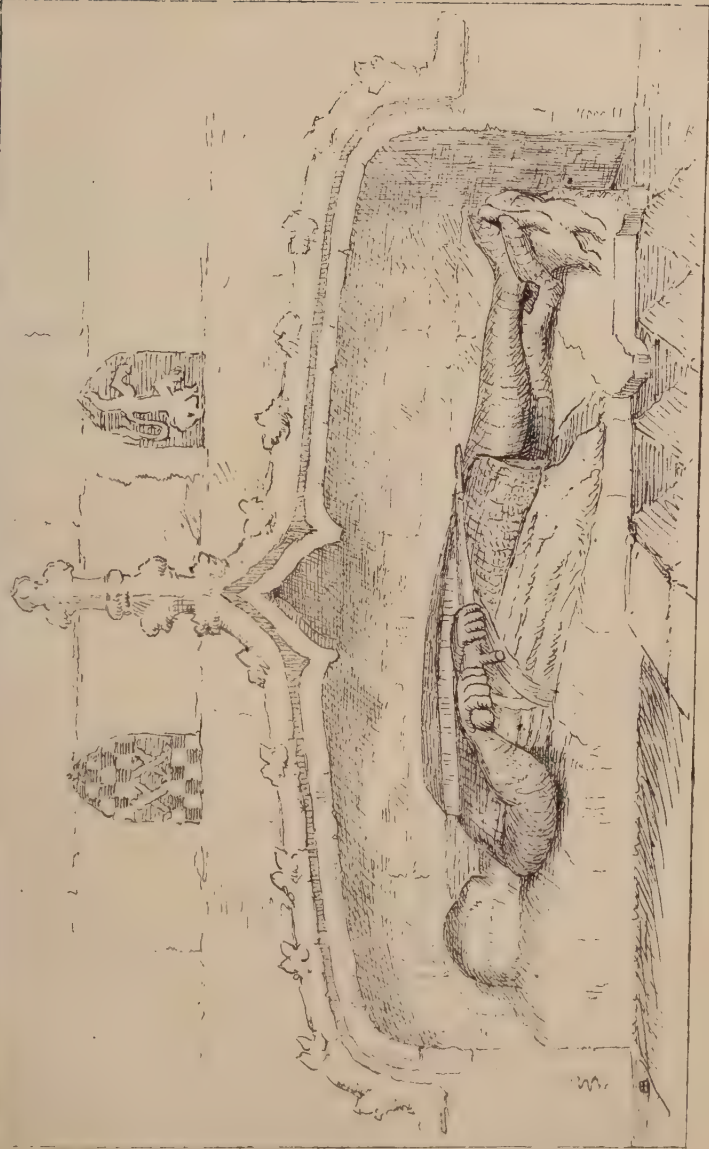
taste and elegant refinement,—to manifest an utter disregard, a contemptuous aversion to the “gothic monuments” of our early ancestors. From existing records, from local tradition, and from the fragments of monuments still to be found, it might be shown that the last century and the beginning of the present, are chiefly answerable for the deficiency of ancient sculptured monuments in this county. Towards the close of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, a list of the monuments in several Buckinghamshire Churches was taken, from which it appears that many, which are there minutely described, are now no where to be found. Others, which are specified by Browne Willis as existing at the beginning of the last century, have now entirely disappeared. Others described in Collin’s Peerage, and in similar works, and in parish records, no longer exist; and these must have been destroyed or removed since the civil wars. Occasionally we meet with fragments of these ancient monuments. A short time since I saw a stone coffin used as a step at the door of a dwelling-house, and the fragment of a sepulchral slab at the door of a barn; I was shown some marble ornaments in a drawing-room, made from a sepulchral monument that had been demolished within the last fifty years. Part of the effigy of a mail clad knight, once of historic renown, may still, I believe, be seen as the pedestal of a sun dial. In repairing a Chancel wall a few years ago, the fragments of an elaborately sculptured monument were discovered, which had been used about a century and a half ago as building stones. Other monuments from Churches in this county have been used, within the recollection of living persons, in repairing the public roads. Perhaps, after all, the worst and most inconsistent, I had almost said unnatural, kind of destruction to which sepulchral monuments have been subjected, is that of destroying one to substitute another in its place; and instances could be specified where two or three ancient memorials have been destroyed to make room for one huge classic pile of the last century. In spite of all this havoc, a few ancient sculptured monuments have escaped, and I will now proceed to notice those of a date prior to the year 1500.

In St. Mary’s Church, Aylesbury, three monuments deserve attention. Two of these are stone coffins, placed within Early English niches in the outer wall of the north

aisle. They were discovered only about twelve years ago, when the Church was undergoing repair, and unfortunately one of them was so much broken by the workmen, that it was found necessary to supply it with a new lid, which was made as near as possible after the pattern of the old one. The lid of the other remained uninjured, and, by its chaste and simple cross, affords a good example of a large class of ornamented stone coffins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This coffin, which probably contains the relics of an ecclesiastic, may be assigned to the twelfth, or the very beginning of the thirteenth century. The illustration was taken soon after its discovery, and before it had been repaired.

The third monument referred to is in a recess in the end wall of the north transept. It is the effigy of a knight or warrior sculptured in marble, representing him clad in the usual plate armour of the fourteenth century. The head rests on his tilting helmet, and the feet on a dog. It has lost both the hands, and a portion of the feet; but retains slight traces of armorial bearings on the sur-coat, which appear to have been a fess danzette, between three tigers or leopards' faces. The crest on the helmet is a bear's or camel's head, muzzled. This effigy lies with the head towards the east, and in a recess of a far earlier date than its own, which clearly indicate that it is not in its original position. It was in fact found, some years back, beneath the Friarage path, near the supposed site of the destroyed monastery of Grey Friars, Aylesbury, and was placed for preservation in this vacant recess. It is not known whom it was designed to commemorate, but from the elaborate workmanship, and the value of the material, it is doubtless the effigy of a person of wealth and consequence,—probably a large benefactor to the suppressed monastery.

In Ashendon Church is an interesting effigy of a cross-legged warrior in chain-mail. Unfortunately it has been daubed over with black paint and various coats of white-wash, and worse still, having lost its original head, it has been supplied with one of hideous deformity, made of common mortar. The character of the armour, however, is easily distinguished. His hauberk of chain-mail reaches to his knees, and his sur-coat, which appears destitute of heraldic device, is open in front as usual, and



In Ashendon Church.



Wooden Effigies.

Clifton Reynes.

falls in folds as low as the calves of his legs. He grasps the hilt of his sword with his right hand, and the scabbard with his left, having on this arm a large heater-shaped semi-cylindrical shield, which apparently has on it a chevron, but no other device can be discerned. The feet rest on a lion.

This monument is placed within a recess, with an arch ornamented with crockets and finial, and evidently of a later date than the effigy. The recess, which is longer than the monument and formed over the chancel-steps, was probably designed for the Easter sepulchre.

It is only an act of justice to mention that the disfigurements in this monument have not taken place in the time of the present Incumbent of the parish, who is interested in it, and kindly supplied the illustration.

Clifton Reynes is a small sequestered village, yet its pretty little Church contains one of the finest collections of monuments in the county. The chancel has a north aisle opening into it by two arches of the Decorated period. This aisle, which doubtless was built for a sepulchral Chapel, contains six sculptured effigies besides memorial brasses. The earliest monument is placed in the north wall within a canopied recess, and consists of two recumbent effigies, male and female, carved in oak, and resting on a modern slab supported by brackets. The knight, or warrior, is represented in the usual armour of the thirteenth century; but the leg-armour, which was probably shown in colours, has disappeared. The spurs also are gone, but their straps remain. The right leg is crossed over the left. With the right hand he is sheathing his sword, and with the left he holds the scabbard. His head rests on two cushions, and his feet on a dog very rudely figured.

The Lady's costume is, of course, of the same period. She wears over her head a veil, which falls on each side of the face to the shoulders. The neck and chin are covered with a wimple reaching almost to the under lip. The dress is low in front about the neck, and falls in folds down to the feet. The gown is sleeveless, with long slits for the arms. The hands are raised in prayer. The head rests on two cushions, and the feet on a dog, similar to that at her husband's feet.

This monument has neither date, inscription, nor

armorial bearings, but was probably designed to commemorate Simon de Borard and Margaret his wife. He was lord of the manor, and died about A.D. 1260, which agrees with the apparent date of the monument.

The next monument to be noticed is an altar-tomb, standing under the lower arch, between the Chancel and its aisles. Each side of the tomb is ornamented with five shields of arms surrounded with tracery, and over every shield, and within the tracery, is the figure of a rose. Roses are also figured on the spaces between the shields, and a border of roses placed at short intervals surrounds each side of the tomb.

The armorial bearings are described by Lipscomb. Upon the tomb are two recumbent effigies, male and female, carved in oak, much resembling those last described; but evidently, from their execution and from some points of difference, they belong to a somewhat later period.

The knight wears a bascinet with camail; his hauberk reaches nearly to his knees; his sur-coat is marked with squares, perhaps intended for chequy, the bearing of the Reynes; he has kneec-pieces, but no appearance of armour beneath them on the legs, nor on the arms, which have been coloured red; no spurs or straps remain. The toes are pointed, but there is no appearance of sollerets. The head rests on two cushions; the right hand is in the attitude of drawing or sheathing the sword, which is entirely broken away, and there is no appearance of the sword-belt; the left arm holds a shield, which is semi-cylindrical and of the heater shape, but devoid of heraldic device. The right leg is crossed over the left, and the feet rest on a dog.

The lady wears a veil over the head, with a fillet encircling the temples, and another passing from the forehead over the crown. The veil, passing under the fillet, falls on each side the face down to the shoulders. A wimple or gorget covers the neck and chin almost to the under lip. The dress is low about the neck, and falls in folds to the feet, which are remarkably small; the gown, or super-tunic, is sleeveless, and without a girdle. The hands are in the attitude of prayer, and the arms, or sleeves of the under-dress, have been coloured red. The head rests on a double cushion, and the feet on a dog.



Wooden Effigies.

Cliston Reynes.

(2).

There is neither date nor inscription on this monument, but from the armorial bearings and other indications it may be assigned to Ralph de Reynes, lord of the manor, and his second wife Amabel, daughter of Sir Richard Chamberlain, of Petsoe manor. Ralph de Reynes died about A.D. 1310, which agrees with the apparent date of the monument.

Wooden effigies are rare, and these are, I believe, the only examples in this county. They are well carved, and, although more than five centuries and a half old, are in a good state of preservation, except where wantonly or accidentally injured. They are hollow, and unconnected with the stone slabs on which they rest. On being raised up, they are found to have been deeply scooped out, and the cavity left in a rough and jagged state. Probably they were charred internally or saturated with some liquid to preserve them from worms and the effects of time and damp.

In addition to these wooden effigies, there is an extremely elegant altar-tomb under the upper or east arch. It is made of rather soft white stone, and not of alabaster as usually stated. Two recumbent effigies, boldly and elaborately executed of the same material, rest on it.

The knight wears a pointed bascinet, camail of chain-mail, a jupon emblazoned with the Reynes arms, reaching scarcely below the hips, and fitting close to the body; the mail hauberk appears about two inches below the surcoat; the legs are defended with plate-armour, with knee-pieces, and broad pointed sollerets. The spurs are broken off, but the straps remain; the sword is gone, but an ornamented belt with a richly chased fastening remain. The dagger is perfect, except the hilt; the hands are in the attitude of prayer, but the greater part of the left arm is broken off. The head rests on a tilting helmet, and the feet on a well-sculptured dog with a collar bearing the name, Bo, in letters raised in bold relief.

The lady's face is almost lost in her reticulated head-dress and veil; her gown is buttoned down to the waist, and a mantle over her shoulders is fastened by a band over the breast and reaches to the feet. Her head rests on two pillows, and her feet on two small dogs, each

wearing a collar, and with their heads in opposite directions,

Each side of the tomb is richly sculptured, and divided by graduated buttresses, into eight lofty niches with trefoiled canopies, crocketed and enriched with pinnacles and finials. The first niche on either side of the tomb contains an armed statuette, and each of the other niches, a male or female figure, probably representing the knight's relations or dependents.

The canopies are surmounted by a hollow cornice, bearing in relief an armorial shield over each niche.

There is neither date or inscription on this tomb, but it may, with much probability, be assigned to Sir John Reynes, and his first wife, Catherine daughter and heir of Sir Peter Scudamore, of Wiltshire. All these monuments were judiciously cleaned and preserved by the Rev. Thomas Evetts, now incumbent of Prestwood, and Rural Dean, when he was for a short time Curate of Clifton Reynes.

Haversham Church next claims attention. On the north side of the chancel is an interesting altar-tomb standing under a lofty canopy enriched with crockets and finial and elegant foliated tracery. On the tomb rests the recumbent effigy of a lady, life-size; her head is raised on two cushions supported by an angel on each side, and her feet are pressed against a lion. The side of the tomb is divided into six trefoil-headed niches, with a statuette in each, and a rosette above, along the moulded verge of the tomb. The lady, who is attired in the usual costume of the period, is with reason believed to represent Elizabeth Lady Clinton, who died in 1423. Browne Willis, who visited Haversham Church in 1739, says,—
 “Here are no ancient coats of arms, or painted glass, except y^t in y^e north window of y^e chancel is one Coat, viz^t Arg^t a Lion ramp^t sable, in an orbe of Billets sable, being y^e arms of Plaunche; put up no doubt by y^e last Heiress of y^e Family, viz^t Elizabeth, Lady Clinton, Daughter and Heir of Will. de la Plaunche, who departing this life aged above 80. anno 1422, willed to be buried here; having, as I presume, contributed towards building the Chancell, and provided herself a Tomb in her life time in this place; and y^t y^e monument under y^e said North Window, containing y^e effigies



Monument of Lady Clinton in Haversham Church.

of an aged woman in alabaster lying in full proportions under an arch, with two Angels at her head, belongs to her, I make no questions, from y^e fashion of y^e Tomb; tho' there is no tradition to whom it belonged otherwise than y^t it was said to have been in memory of a Lady of this Town, and on y^t acc^t was repaired, as I have been told, in the year 1665, by Dorothy, wife of Maurice Thompson, on his purchasing this Mannour." Mr. Cooke, a former Rector of Haversham, states in a manuscript history of that parish, that this Lady Clinton was four times married—first to Robert Lord Grey of Rotherfield, who died in 1389; second to John Clinton, who died in 1397; third to John Birmingham; fourthly to Sir John Russell. Mr. Cooke continues, "Lady Elizabeth Clinton, as she stiles herself in her last Testament, appoints her Body to be buried in y^e Chancell of Haversham before y^e Image of our Lady."* This extract from Lady Clinton's will suggests an explanation of a difficulty respecting the monument. The tomb and effigy are of alabaster while the canopy is of stone. The canopy also is of an earlier date, and forms too narrow a recess for the tomb, which has been cut away at each end to make it fit in. From this it may be conjectured that the canopy was originally constructed for the Image of the Virgin, before which Lady Clinton's monument was to be placed; and, on the removal of the Image at the Reformation, the tomb was doubtless fitted into the vacant recess. Another incident must be noticed. Browne Will's says he had been told that this monument was repaired in 1665 by Dorothy wife of Maurice Thompson on his purchasing the manor. This, at that time, rested on local tradition. A man recently living was employed about forty years ago by the then Rector to repair some work in the Chancel, with strict injunctions not to touch the monument. He however began to use a chisel to what appeared a loose piece of mortar at the east end of the tomb, when to his surprise, the stone that formed the end fell down, and disclosed the following inscription:—"Dorrite [wife of Maurice] Thompson, Esq. repaired this Tomb Anno Do. M d c l x v." The words in brackets were not legible. Maurice and Dorothy Thompson were

* Mr. Cooke refers to Register Chicheley. Fol. 366, in the Archives of Lambeth, dated and proved I. Hen. 6.

grandfather and grandmother of the first Lord Haversham. For the illustration I am indebted to the Rev. A. B. Frazer, Rector.

Hughenden Church contains some of the most remarkable monuments in the county. Besides others which deserve notice, there are six that come within the scope of this paper, all of which are in a large sepulchral chapel, or aisle on the north of the chancel, and opening into it by two Early English arches. The principal monument in the group stands near the centre of the chapel, and consists of a cross-legged effigy resting on an oblong slab, which is placed on a modern altar tomb. The warrior wears a hauberk, or shirt of mail, with hood, and chausses, or leg-armour, also of chain-mail. Thus he is covered, with the exception of his face, from head to foot in chain armour. Over this he wears a surcoat, or super-tunic, which reaches just below his knees, and as usual, falls partly open in front. With his right hand he grasps the hilt of a drawn anelace or dagger, and with his left hand holds the scabbard of a very large and long sword that reaches down to his feet. The scabbard, which is ornamented from top to bottom with heraldic shields at short intervals, is suspended by a plain belt hanging obliquely from his right hip. His shield, which rests on his left arm, is large, semi-cylindrical, and of the heater-shape, and emblazoned with a lion rampant, with a double tail, and with a child in its mouth. His surcoat is also ornamented with an armorial shield bearing chequy in chief, and under this a griffin with a child in its paw, and not in its mouth, as stated by Lysons. His head rests on a cushion, with an heraldic shield at each end. His feet, which are furnished with the prick spurs strapped over the ancle, rest on a bolster-shaped stone with a crescent at each end, and another in the middle between his feet. The effigy, from head to foot, measures 6 ft. 5 inches long, and represents a large and powerful person, with a high forehead, fine and regular features, and a countenance indicating firmness, dignity, and resignation. The slab, on which the effigy rests, measures 6 ft. 10 inches in length, and fits an obtuse pointed recess in the north wall of the chapel, from which this monument was removed by the late Mr. Norris. It is formed of free-stone, is beautifully and elaborately sculptured, and, if it



In Hughendon Church

has not been re-cut and repaired, is in a perfect state of preservation, and as fine a specimen of its kind as any in the kingdom. From the costume, and heraldic devices, it doubtless belongs to the thirteenth century, and, if of English workmanship, shows that our country, even at that early period, possessed sculptors who, in many respects, have never since been excelled. It has been supposed to commemorate Richard the fifth son of Simon de Montfort. (See the illustration.)

The next monument in the group is that of an oblong slab which is now reared up against the eastern wall of the chapel and on the south side of the window. On this slab is cut in profile and in basso relievo, the rude figure of a man in armour holding up a mace in his right hand. On his left arm he bears a shield emblazoned with chequre in chief; underneath a griffin with a child in its paw; over all, a bend. The sides of the slab, which is about six inches thick, are ornamented with six heraldic shields of the same description as those on the knight's scabbard. Langley calls this rude and extraordinary figure a knight in a close round helmet. But the costume appears to be that of a man-at-arms, and the mace, which was introduced by the Crusaders, was carried by a serjeant-at-arms, and never, I believe, by a knight.

In the north sply of the window stands a coffin-shaped slab, bearing another extraordinary figure, rudely cut in low relief. This consists of a warrior bearing in his right hand a drawn sword, and in his left a cross. On each side of his head, which is shown in full face, are two heraldic shields. His head appears to be protected by a hood of mail; and a necklace, apparently of large round beads, surrounds his neck. Two hearts are figured on his breast, and in front he bears a large flat shield, apparently emblazoned with a lion and griffin, with the child as before described, but they are almost obliterated. Another sword, piercing the head of a man or lion, stands upright in front of his right leg.

Another oblong slab is reared up against the wall on the north side of the east window. On this slab the figures are cut in low relief, leaving a rim or border round the verge of the slab of equal height with the figures, which consist of the effigy of a warrior, with his body in full face and his legs in profile; two heraldic

shields with a crescent between them over his head; a drawn sword in his right hand; on his left arm a large, flat heater-shaped shield, covering his chest and a great part of his body. The shield appears to bear quarterly; 1st and 4th a lion rampant, and bendy, 2nd and 3rd; with an escutcheon of pretence, but the devices are almost obliterated. The warrior's feet rest on an animal like a fox courant.

On the sill of the east window lies the effigy of a knight in the plate armour of the fourteenth century. It has, however, some peculiarities. It has neither sword, dagger, nor shield. The hands hold a heart over the chest. The griffin with the child in its paw; and the lion with the child issuing from its mouth, are very plainly figured on the skirt of the surcoat. They appear also under the knight, cut in the upper and lower part of the slab on which he rests, with some other devices which cannot now be deciphered. The head rests on a tilting helmet and the feet on a lion. This effigy has been rather roughly treated.

There is one more monument to be noticed. This is the effigy of a person emaciated to a skeleton. The shroud covers the head and falls open on each side, discovering the body. In the chest is an opening with a diminutive human figure issuing from it, designed to denote the departure of the soul. Around this opening are five gashes, in the form of crosses, indicating the five wounds of our Saviour. This repulsive style of memorial was not very uncommon in the 14th and 15th centuries. This monument lies under an arch of earlier date, between the chancel and the chapel, and partly built up so as to form a kind of altar tomb. All these monuments were carefully cleaned and placed in their present position by the late Mr. Norris, who drew up an elaborate account of them for Lipscomb's History, which unfortunately I have not been able to see during the preparation of this paper.

In the village Church of Hoggeston, near Winslow, is a sculptured effigy of a Civilian. It lies in a plain low recess in the north wall of the chancel. The hair is long and full; the face closely shaved; the features regular and intelligent; the forehead remarkably high. The habits, so far as they can be discovered through dirt and whitewash, appear to consist of a loose tunic reaching to



Effigies in the Russell Chapel, Chenies.
(Supposed to be of the Cheyne Family.)

the ancles, with a cape or tippet above it. At the feet is a couchant lamb. The hands are in the attitude of prayer, and hold between them some object resembling the chancel or gable end of a Church. Lysons styles this the tomb of the Founder, and says, "it is supposed to have been intended for William de Birmingham, Lord of the Manor, who died in 1342." This is doubtless about the date of the monument, but the Church must have been founded at a far earlier period. He probably built the chancel, or as the Ecclesiastical Topography states, was the Founder of the chantry or chancel aisle which contains the monument. Effigies of Civilians at this early period being rare, this ought to be preserved with the greater care and attention. When I saw it some years back it was thickly coated with various coloured washes, but in other respects it was in a good state of preservation, and not, as stated by Lysons and other works, "much mutilated." If thoroughly cleansed from dirt and white-wash it would be a valuable specimen of a rare and interesting class of sepulchral effigies.

At Chenies, in the Russell chapel adjoining the Church, are two ancient effigies representing a warrior and a lady, boldly sculptured in hard, close-grained stone. The lady's effigy is in the best preservation, but it has lost both hands, and one arm. The head, which rests on a lozenge-shaped pillow, is attired in a caul enriched by a fillet ornamented with rosettes; and buttons, similarly ornamented, fasten the robe from the neck to the waist. Above this garment is worn that singular jacket which was common at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The dress closely resembles that on the effigy of Joan of Navarre, second wife of Henry IV., king of England. The queen died in 1437, but her effigy was probably made when the king died in 1413, which is about the date of this effigy.

The head and chest alone of the warrior remain, but they clearly indicate the date of the effigy. His pointed bascinet, mail gorget, and emblazoned surcoat present the usual characteristics of knightly effigies at the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. Of his heraldic bearings two martlets alone remain, which occupy the middle and sinister chiefs. It is supposed to commemorate Sir John Cheyne, Lord of the Manor, who died about 1400.

Ivinghoe Church contains a very interesting effigy of a Priest in his eucharistic robes, supposed to commemorate Peter de Chaseport, who was rector of the parish from A. D. 1241 to 1254. But as I have already given an account of this monument,* I shall now simply remark that it is, apparently, the only sculptured memorial of an ecclesiastic remaining in the county.

We have now noticed twenty-four sculptured monuments, which, as far as I can ascertain, are all that this county contains of a date prior to the sixteenth century. The number is not only small, but affords scarcely more than one example of each kind and date. This should incline us to prize them the more highly, and to use our best endeavours to preserve them. But let not our anxiety for their preservation lead us to supply the deficiencies effected by time or injury. Much mischief has been done by recent restoration. We all deprecate the use of whitewash, and very justly so, but far more injurious are the effects of modern restorations. Whitewash may easily be removed, but the effects of the chisel are fatal to the chief value of ancient monuments. It is impossible to supply their lost fragments without the danger of committing some mistake. And the slightest error, even in a single heraldic device, in the length of a sword, or in the peculiarity of an ornament; may so mislead an antiquary or historian as to occasion serious consequences—may even cause the wrong disposal of a disputed property. A few years ago I visited a well-known Church in Staffordshire to inspect its ancient monuments, from which I expected to gather some valuable historic data. On entering the Church, I found, to my dismay, that they had all been “beautifully restored!” They had been re-cut; every deficiency supplied; and fresh painted and gilt. They all looked perfect and splendid; and would have been admirable objects for Madame Tussaud’s collection of wax-work. But for my purpose they were valueless. Restoration had destroyed every vestige of antiquity—at least, not one was left that could be depended on as genuine. Let us, then, not attempt thus to restore our ancient monuments, but be satisfied with a careful and judicious preservation of them. Let no attempt be made to beautify

or to renovate them with modern workmanship. If they have been defaced and disfigured with coats of whitewash let them be thoroughly cleansed. If they have been broken, and the fragments can be recovered, let them be carefully and firmly re-united. If they are falling asunder, let them be well-braced, and skilfully supported. If they have been torn from their proper sites, let them, if possible, be restored to their original position. And wooden monuments, after having been properly cleared from whitewash and other modern colouring, may, with much advantage, be oiled, or varnished to preserve them from insects, and from the effects of damp. Occasionally, from the size and position of sculptured monuments, they interfere with the due celebration of Divine worship, or with the proper arrangement and appearance of our Churches. In such cases, with the sanction of the Ordinary, they should be carefully removed to some convenient place, where, if possible, they may be re-fixed with due regard to their original form and appearance. All such conservations of ancient monuments are desirable, and should be promoted to the best of our power. But however mutilated, leave their hoary relics in all their genuine antiquity.

“ Beware lest one worn feature ye efface
 Seek not to add one touch of modern grace;
 Handle with reverence each crumbling stone,
 Respect the very lichens o’er it grown;
 And bid each ancient monument to stand,
 Supported e’en as with a filial hand.”

Perhaps it will be asked—“ Why take such care about them? Are these old antiquated memorials of any real value?” Undoubtedly they are.

To the Sculptor and the Architect, to the Historian and the Antiquary, to the Herald and the Genealogist, they are of inestimable value. Even the Lawyer is sometimes obliged to leave his parchment to consult sepulchral monuments. But their value is not confined to such characters. Every intelligent person may study them with interest and profit. Dr. Johnson, who was no mean authority, says, “ Whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings.” The study of ancient monuments, then, cannot be useless. They are eminently calculated to carry back our thoughts to past generations.

We see in these memorial effigies, wrought by contemporaneous artists, faithful representations of our early forefathers—the Barons, Knights, Ladies, Ecclesiastics—those worthies, who figured in the days of Chivalry, and impart such interest to England's early history. They illustrate in the most striking manner the various costumes of different ranks in successive generations ; and, by the elaborate workmanship of some of them, they must convince even the most prejudiced of our own age that the sculptors of that period were, in many respects, not inferior to those of the present day.

But let us look at the emblematic ornaments of these ancient memorials, and take blame to ourselves if we have never before viewed them with interest. Some of them, it is true, refer to foolish legends ; but, for the most part, they represent Scripture scenes ; or symbolize Scriptural expressions. A dragon at the feet of an Ecclesiastic, and a lion at the feet of a warrior, were to symbolize verse 13th of Psalm 91. The hands, in the attitude of prayer, holding a heart over the breast, doubtless, refers to Lamentations iii. 41. The representation of Angels carrying the deceased's soul to Heaven was doubtless suggested by the parable of Lazarus. The Evangelistic emblems point the mind to the four Gospels, and to the books of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse, from whence the emblems are derived. The sacred Cross, which, as the symbol of Christianity, has sealed the Martyr's tomb, and adorned the House of God from the Apostolic age, is generally found, in one form or another, on all these ancient monuments. And are not such adornments more appropriate to the Christian's tomb ; are they not more elevating to the mind of the beholder ; and more likely to kindle holy and heavenly aspirations, than hideous figures of human bones and skulls, or fabulous emblems from heathen Mythology ? Fictions from paganism are a disgrace to Christian monuments : human relics may remind us of death and decay ; but the ancient emblems we have noticed point the soul to Heaven and immortality. How forcibly, then, do they condemn that *classic* taste which is scarcely yet exploded.

Let us take, from another point of view, one more glance at these ancient memorials. They commemorate, for the most part, persons who were among the leading characters

of their day—men who, under God, wielded the destinies of our Country when it was struggling for that independence and pre-eminence which *we* now enjoy. We are too apt to forget this. Amid the whirl and excitement of modern activity we seldom think of the debt we owe to our ancestors ;—we bury their deeds in their sepulchres, or mention them only with contempt and derision. Yet had they possessed pusillanimous minds or cowardly hearts, England might now have been a mere tributary state to some foreign power ; and the steam-engine, which now plies at our bidding, might have been only used to convey amongst us the troops and mandates of our enemies. But by the manly wisdom, the vigorous efforts, and noble achievements of our ancestors, this little Isle, now the wonder and envy of the world, was raised to that high and glorious position which it possessed centuries before we were born. No nation, so replete with blessings and advantages as our own, ever reached such a condition in one generation. It has been the continuous effort of successive generations—the accumulated wisdom of centuries, that has nurtured Britain into its present noble and vigorous maturity. While, then, we pride ourselves on the rapid progress of the present generation, let us not undervalue the advancement of each preceding one. Let Britain's departed worthies still live in the memory of Britain's living sons. Let us look back with reverence on those early ancestors whom these ancient monuments commemorate. They were among the Founders of our Churches ; the Conquerors of our enemies ; the Achievers of our fame ; the Protectors of our liberties ; the Architects of our Constitution. Let us venerate their memory. Let us cultivate feelings of gratitude towards them. Let us revere their slumbering relics. Let us view their monuments with interest ; and preserve and protect them as memorials of those whom we ought to honour and revere, remembering that the achievements of past generations have been so many steps in England's glory ; and if we would advance or retain that glory, we should so pass our own career that future generations may contemplate our sepulchres with that veneration and regard, which we feel, or ought to feel towards these ancient monuments of our forefathers.

ORIGINAL LICENSE

GRANTED TO RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, TO EAT FLESH
ON FAST DAYS, 1632, NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF
THE REV. W. R. CARTWRIGHT, OF OAKLEY;
WITH A TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

By G. H. SAWTELL, Esq.

GEORGIUS Providentiâ divinâ Cantuariensis Archie
piscopus totius Angliæ Primatus et Metropolitanus ad
infra scripta Auctoritate Parliamenti Angliæ legitime
fulcitus Dilecto nobis in Christo RICARDO CARTWRIGHT
parochiæ S^{ti}. Dunstani in occidentali Londini Armigero
salutem et gratiam.—Cum leges ad utilitatem omnium
conditæ ad salutem singulorum de rigore suo aliquid
remittere etiammodo cupiant Nos partim ex relatione tuâ
partim ex aliorum fide dignorum testimonio intelligentes
piscium esum sanitati corporis tui adversum et salutem
tuam ex animo exoptantes Permittimus et indulgemus
tibi ut unâcum Mariâ uxore tuâ et omnibus quibusvis
aliis arbitrio tuo eligendis et ad mensam tuam invitandis
carnibus cum debitâ gratiarum actione quibusvis die et
tempore publico vetitis durante vitâ tuâ naturali vesci
possis. Volumus tamen quod sobrieter et frugaliter cauté
itidem et ad vitandum publicum scandalum quoad fieri
possit tecté non palâm facias nec ad dictam valetudinis
causâ tibi permissam alios convivas aliter quam superiûs
est expressum admittas, Proviso semper quod annuatim
sex solidos et octo denarios in parochiâ infrâ quam habi-
tabis ad cistam pauperum conferes et numerabis juxtâ
statutum in Parliamento de anno quinto regni serenissimæ
Dominæ Elizabethæ nuper Reginæ in câ parte editum
et provisum. Volumus etiam quod omnia et singula alia
perimplebis et observabis quæ in dicto statuto de anno
quinto dictæ nuper Reginæ Elizabethæ continentur
(legibus aliis et consuetudinibus in contrariam non obstan-
tibus quibus-cunque) Proviso autem quod hæ literæ tibi
non proficiant nisi per literas patentes Regiæ Majestatis

debité fuerint confirmatæ Data sub sigillo ad facultates quarto diè mensis Martii anno domini millesimo sexcentissimo tricessimo secundo et nostræ translationis anno tricessimo secundo.

EDM: SCOTT Clericus Facultatum.

CAR CÆSAR ad Factes Commissarius.

CAROLUS Dei gratiâ Angliæ Scotiæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex fidei Defensor etc Omnibus at quos præsentēs literæ pervenerint salutem Inspeximus quasdam literas dispensacionum præsentibus annexatas quas et singula in eis contenta juxta quendam Actum in Parlamento Domini Henrici nuper Regis Angliæ Octavi predecessoris nostri editum Ratificavimus approbavimus et confirmavimus et pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris ratificamus approbamus et confirmamus per præsentēs Ita quod RICARDUS CARTWRIGHT parochiæ Sancti Dunstani in Occidentali Londinensi Armiger in dictis literis nominatus omnibus et singulis in eisdem specificatis uti frui et potiri valeat et possit libere et quieté impuné et licite secundum vim formam et effectum earundam absque impedimento quocunque Eo quod expressa mentio de certitudine præmissorum aut de aliis donis sine concessionibus per nos eidem Ricardo autē hæc tempora factis in præsentibus minime facta existit aut aliquo statuto actu provisione proclamatione sive restrictione in contrariam facto edito ordinato seu proviso aut aliquâ aliâ re causâ vel materiâ quacunque in aliquo non obstante—In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium quarto diè Martii anno regni nostri Octavo—per BARTHOLOMEUM BALDWIN Regiæ Majestatis ad facultates in Cancellario Clericum.

GEORGE, by divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, lawfully authorized by the Parliament of England, for the purposes after mentioned, to our well beloved in Christ, RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, of the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, London, Esq., health and grace.—Forasmuch as laws made for the general benefit desire to abate somewhat of their strictness for the behoof of individuals, we having understood partly from your own statement, partly from the testimony of others worthy of credit, that the eating

of fish is injurious to your bodily health, and desiring above all things your wellbeing, we permit and indulge to you, that you together with Mary your wife, and any others at your will whom you may select and may invite to your table, may during your life eat flesh with due giving of thanks, on days and times whereupon the same is publicly forbidden. We will, however, that you shall do this soberly and frugally, as well as cautiously and secretly, rather than openly, for the avoiding of public scandal, nor that you admit other guests to share the licence granted for your health's sake, otherwise than is above expressed, Provided always that you yearly reckon and pay 6s. 8d. to the poor box of the parish wherein you shall inhabit, according to the statute in that behalf made and provided in the 5th year of the most serene Lady Elizabeth, late Queen.—We will also that you fulfil and observe all other things contained in the said statute (all other laws and customs to the contrary notwithstanding) Provided nevertheless that these Presents shall not avail unless the same shall be confirmed by the Royal Letters Patent.—Given under our seal of the faculties the 4th day of March, in the year 1632, and the 32nd. year of our translation.

EDMD. SCOTT, Clerk of the Faculties.

CHAS. CÆSAR, Commissary of the Acts.

CHARLES by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these presents shall come, health. We have inspected certain letters of dispensation hereto annexed, which and all therein contained We, according to an Act passed in Reign of King Henry VIIIth., our predecessor, have ratified, approved, and confirmed, and for us ourselves our heirs, and successors, do hereby ratify, approve and confirm, so that RICHARD CARTWRIGHT of the Parish of St. Dunstan in the West, London, Esq., therein named, may use, enjoy, and possess freely, quietly, and with impunity, all things therein contained according to the force, form, and effect thereof, without any impediment whatsoever, albeit express mention of the premises or of other gifts or grants by us to the same RICHARD heretofore made shall not be made; any statute, act, provision, proclamation, or restriction to the contrary made, issued, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause or matter whatsoever, in anywise notwithstanding. In testimony

whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourselves, at Westminster, the 4th day of March, in the 8th year of our Reign.—By BARTHOLOMEW BALDWIN, Clerk of the Faculties in His Majesty's Chancery.

NOTES.

GEORGE ABBOTT, Archbishop of Canterbury, the granter of this License, was born at Guildford, in 1562—his parents were in very humble circumstances, and some singular legends are told with reference to his early history; however, he and his brother Robert, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, were certainly educated by private charity, and he became after several minor preferments, Dean of Worcester in 1599; in 1609, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and successively Bishop of London and Primate within a year or two afterwards; during the period of his prosperity he left a noble remembrance to his native town, in the form of a stately hospital, which still maintains 24 poor persons under the government of a Master and Vice-Master. The building is a fine specimen of brickwork and a great ornament to Guildford. Before the completion of this good work, the latter days of the Archbishop were clouded by the unhappy accident of his casually killing Lord Zouch's gamekeeper at Bramshill Park with an arrow, aimed at a deer, which, after the fashion of the times, he was engaged in hunting with the cross-bow. He kept a monthly fast ever after, on the day of the week on which the accident occurred, and had to sustain much persecution through the efforts made for his deprivation on the ground that his having shed blood incapacitated him from his sacred office. He died in 1633, and was succeeded by a more widely known and still more unfortunate Lord Primate, and he lies buried at Guildford under a wonderful pile of marble, in which a canopy, six pillars, pedestals of books, nine statuettes, a fancy sepulchre, skulls, bones, an iron grate, and a life-size effigy, all figure, with of course, a most laudatory epitaph, in which no mention of the gamekeeper or the cross-bow is to be found.

NOTES ON LICENSES TO EAT FLESH.

These licenses have little or no relation to theology, but are to be considered rather as arising out of sumptuary laws, which in the reigns of the two last Henrys and of Elizabeth, were multiplied to a most oppressive extent.

The obligation to fast during Lent and upon the other customary days, clearly survived the reformation, and was part of the common law of the land. Prior to that period, those who required dispensations in this behalf, obtained them of the Pope. The statute 28th Henry VIII. chap. 16, referred to in the confirmation above translated, recites that the Pope's authority was usurped, and his licenses void and of none effect, but that, if they should be impeached, it would be to the "intolerable inquietations and utter undoing" of the holders of them—it therefore lets them run on for a year, after which period, the right to grant dispensations is transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury subject to confirmation under the great seal.

The detailed statement of terms on which these particular licenses are to be granted, is set forth in the statute of Elizabeth referred to in the above license, V. Elizabeth, cap 5., which is intituled "An act touching Politick Constitutions for the maintenance of the Navy." This act contains 51 sections, and must have greatly vexed the minds of seafaring men. Fish appear to have been given to the Queen, as a customary payment for a license to sail to Iceland. Fresh herrings are absolutely prohibited if brought in in foreign vessels, shipwreck excepted. All cod brought in in casks, is forfeited—so are wines and wood brought in on foreign ships—and what is more to our present purpose, Wednesday is to be an extra fish day, "for increase of the provision of fish, by the more common and usual eating thereof." Three months' imprisonment is the penalty for eating flesh on fish days. Special licenses are saved, but they are to be void unless they provide that the grantee shall pay yearly to the poor's box, if a Lord or Lord's wife, 26s. 8*d.*—if a knight or knight's wife, 13s. 4*d.*—and if of commoner degree, like Mr. Richard Cartwright, 6s. 8*d.* Provided that no license shall extend to the enormity of eating beef at any time of the year, or veal between Michaelmas and the 1st of May. This comprehensive enactment then harks back to the wine question—the Queen is to fix the price

(without regard to quality apparently). So also of corn for exportation. By further investigation we discover that abstaining from flesh means, having on table "one usual and competent dish of flesh and no more;" so that there are forthcoming at the same meal "three full competent usual dishes of sea-fish of sundry kinds, either fresh or salt, without fraud or covin," (perhaps this may allude to *lobster-salads*.) The peril of three month's durance does not therefore appear so imminent as at first sight, Then comes the spiritual interpretation of this truly maternal ordinance. "And because no manner of person shall misjudge of the intent of this Estatute limiting orders to eat fish, and to forbear eating of flesh, but that the same is purposely intended and meant politickly for the increase of Fishermen and Mariners and repairing of Port Towns and Navigation and not for any superstition to be maintained in the choice of Meats, be it enacted that whosoever shall, by Preaching, Teaching, Writing, or open speech, notify that any eating of fish or forbearing of flesh mentioned in this statute, is of any necessity for the saving of the soul of man, or that it is for the service of God otherwise than as other politic laws are and be, that then such persons shall be punished as spreaders of false news are and ought to be." This dismal deprivation of inward consolation to the High Churchmen of those days, under a fish diet, closes the enactments on the subject. We may presume that Archbishop Laud lived to see these restrictions and the dispensations connected with them die out.

Every license granted by the Magistrates *to an Innholder* was accompanied by a Bond on the part of him and his sureties to prevent flesh from being consumed in his house during Lent and on fast days, and of these recognizances, great numbers remain with the public records, but I was unable to find any enrolment of a dispensation like the present one.

NOTICE OF RICHARD CARTWRIGHT.

This gentleman appears to have been descended from an ancient Nottinghamshire family, and to have been a practising barrister of eminence, and a member of the Inner Temple, where he was resident at the date of the license, being then about sixty-eight years old. His father

and elder brother were resident at Aston, in Cheshire, to which circumstance, he was probably indebted for the notice and friendship of the celebrated THOMAS EGERTON, of Ridley, in that county, afterwards Viscount Brackley and Lord Chancellor, (the Chancellor had himself no connexion with Brackley, but his son, afterwards the first Earl of Ellesmere, had married the heiress of the manor). Mr. Cartwright purchased of Shakerley Marmion, Esq., the father of the dramatist of that name, in 1615, two thirds of the manor of Aynho, for £5,250, and in the succeeding year, the remaining third from Sir Paul Tracy his son for £3,000. He may be supposed to have retired from his profession to his house at Aynho, soon after his appetite for fish failed him, and he died there at the age of seventy-four, in 1638, and is commemorated by a latin epitaph in Aynho Church as "*lectissimus conjux pietate innocuâ prudentiâ et modestâ charitate insignis. Ille ut aliis multis ita præ cæteris illustrissimo viro Thomæ Domino Egerton Baronis de Ellesmere summo Angliæ Cancellario vixit egregie charus.*" In the same tomb lies his wife, the daughter of Sir John Egerton, of Egerton, and consequently a niece or cousin of the Chancellor. Their son and heir, John Cartwright, was "plundered" in the civil wars by the cavaliers, to the amount of £800, besides having his manor-house burnt to the ground. He survived the restoration, and founded scholarships at Brase-nose, having during the rebellion, declined sitting on the University Commission of that day. His descendants are the present distinguished family at Aynho.

Richard Cartwright by his will, gave *5s. 4d.* annually, for bread every week after divine service, to six of the poorest and most aged people in Aynho who should come to Church every sabbath day.

In March, 1862, a skeleton, with a spear-head and the blade of a knife, were found in the sand-pit on the Glebe, in the parish of Stone, about two feet below the surface. Vice-Admiral Smyth, of St. John's Lodge, obtained possession of them, and has kindly presented them to the Museum.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, AYLESBURY.

The fine old West window of this Church has recently been filled with stained glass at the cost of Acton Tindal, Esq., (the Lord of the Manor) and his brothers and sisters, as an obituary to their parents. The glass was designed and executed by Messrs. O'Connor, and adds to the reputation of those eminent artists. The window which has now received this beautiful glass is of the latest period of Perpendicular architecture, and is both massive and elaborate in its details. It seems evidently to have been intended for painted glass, and may not improbably have been so filled about the time of its erection (A. D. 1500). But scarcely any thing of ornament in this Church escaped the violence of Puritanical zeal in the 17th century. A better future, it is to be hoped, awaits this well restored window, which was opened to view on Christmas Day, 1862.

The subjects of the present window are entirely from the Old Testament. In the four upper lights are four figures representing the patriarchs, Noah, Abraham, Moses and David. Below these, in two groups of two each, are the four greater Prophets. Underneath these, in a series running across the window, are the twelve minor Prophets. The small and variously sized openings in the centre of the upper portion of the window are filled with the Dove, representing the Holy Spirit in His sevenfold gifts spreading his influences over the writers and the events of the Old Testament History. The six large lights in the lower part of the window contain representations respectively of the Temptation and the Expulsion, the Passage of the Red Sea and the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Passover, and the Lifting up of the Brazen Serpent. Classifying these in groups of two each, the two on the left will represent the Fall of Man, the two on the right the Restoration of Man, while the two middle subjects, the Passage of the Red Sea, and the Offering of Isaac, the one a figure of Holy Baptism, and the other a figure

of the Lord's Supper, represent together the means of grace in the two Sacraments.

The work, though open to criticism in some of its details, is on the whole masterly, exhibiting much talent and religious feeling. The effect of the reflected ruby light upon the four upper figures is very effective; and in the Offering of Isaac the attitude of Abraham is grand and striking. Indeed the whole treatment of this subject is very successful. Previously to its erection in the Church, this glass was placed in the International Exhibition, where it obtained a Prize Medal.

The stonework of the window has been thoroughly repaired and renewed by Mr. W. W. Thompson of Aylesbury, at the cost of the donors.

A brass plate at the base of the window contains the following inscription:—"To the memory of Thomas Tindal, late of the Prebendal House, Aylesbury, formerly Clerk of the Peace for this County, who died 26th July, 1850, aged 67 years. Also of Anne his first wife, who died 23rd May, 1812, daughter of Acton Chaplin, Esq., of the same town. And of Mary Anne his second wife, who died 11th March, 1826, daughter of Henry Uhthoff, Clerk, Rector of Huntingfield, Suffolk. This window is dedicated by their children."

According to a curious manuscript by the learned John Gregory, a peculiar species of "Will with the Wisp," called "The Wat," used occasionally to visit Aylesbury Gaol, and was then prophetic of evil; the night before the arrival of the Judges at the Assizes was the fatal period of its visit. It would then make its appearance like a small flame (*flammulam*), and the unfortunate person, to whom it was visible, had nothing to look forward to but certain death. "This," adds Gregory in the simplicity of his soul, "I cannot affirm of my own knowledge, but I learnt it from the inhabitants of Aylesbury themselves—from persons worthy of belief." Why Aylesbury Gaol was distinguished by this peculiar and fatal omen, is no where explained.

ACCOUNT OF ROMAN FOUNDATIONS AND OTHER
ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED IN 1860-62 AT TINGEWICK,
BUCKS, UPON THE PROPERTY OF MR. R. P. GREAVES,
OF GROVE HILL.

BY REV. H. ROUNDELL, *Hon. Sec.*

[The labour of the Contributor of this Paper has been very much lightened by, and his best thanks are due to MR. R. P. GREAVES, for the interest and energy he has shown in carrying on the excavations on his property, and the free use allowed to the "Bucks Architectural and Archæological Society" of the Antiquities discovered both for Exhibition and Engraving for the illustration of the "Records;" and also to MR. BEESLEY, of Banbury, for permission to use the careful and complete description of the Pottery and other articles, drawn up by him for MR. GREAVES, much of which will be found embodied in these pages; and also to MR. R. INWARDS, for the drawings of the antiquities from which the accompanying illustrations have been engraved by the anastatic process.]

IAM SEGES EST UBI TROIA FUIT.

The County of Buckingham, fruitful in memorials of the period preceding the Norman Conquest, has produced striking evidences of the several and successive occupations of the Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, and Danes. Of the earlier of these periods, no more valuable hoard of gold coin has been yet discovered in England than that found in Whaddon Chase in 1849. Of the Roman period, the tumulus at Thornborough, opened by the late Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, proved to be "the depositary" of the richest series of Romano-British remains, hitherto "explored, with the exception perhaps alone of the Bartlow Hills in Cambridgeshire."* While of the Saxon or Danish period, *White-leaf Cross* at Monks Risborough,

* Archæological Journal, vol. vii. page 82.

and the *Bledlow Cross*, still remain valuable and magnificent monuments. And besides these remarkable historical Memorials, almost every district of the County supplies proofs of its occupation at a very distant period by various nations, and though the traces of the Briton have well nigh disappeared, evidences of the colonization or military occupation of the Roman conqueror, ineffaced by the lapse of fourteen hundred years, survive in their roads, their earth-works, their foundations, and the names of existing towns and villages. It is much to be regretted that notwithstanding their abundance, partly in consequence of the rapid disintegration which exposure to the air causes in long-buried walls and foundations, and to the want of care if not positive destruction they have to encounter, and partly also to the dispersion among collectors of the more durable antiquities, few of the antiquarian treasures of the County are now available in a way calculated to give additional insight into the history of Buckinghamshire during the period of the Roman occupation. Against destruction by the hand of time there is no remedy. *Tempus edax rerum*. If, however, on the first discovery of the foundations of ancient edifices, care be taken to ascertain their depth, dimensions, materials and style of masonry, to trace their course with exactness, and make drawings of any peculiarity of construction, together with an accurate ground plan, noting at the same time the situation, aspect, and nature of soil, much may be done to preserve and utilize whatever is most valuable in these relics. Should, however, adverse circumstances prevent these measurements and details being taken at the time of discovery, the remains should be covered up again without delay in their protecting earth, till the investigation can be resumed under more favourable auspices. Turning to the second cause which has deprived us of many advantages that might have been reaped from past discoveries, namely, the dispersion into private hands of the most interesting of the Buckinghamshire Antiquities, the establishment of a County Museum at Aylesbury will form a nucleus to which to gather them, and offer a receptacle in which the most careful collector may deposit his treasures either by gift or loan with the fullest confidence of their security. But whether entrusted to the Museum, or retained by the owner, the real value to the Historian or Archæologist of

antiquities found at the same time and place consists in their being kept together, *as a whole*. Fifty coins in a cabinet, historically useful *as a series*, for the events they severally commemorate, and for the skill or otherwise with which they have been fabricated, reveal nothing of their common history, they have come together no one knows whence, and in a few more years will be separated again. But the same number of coins, found together in the spot where they have been lost or hidden, have a story of their own to tell, of carelessness, of avarice, of theft, or, if associated with the ashes of the dead, of filial or parental love. Thus, from the size of their dwellings as indicated by the vestiges of foundations, from the fragments of their pottery, from their implements of husbandry or of the chase or of war, from their ornaments and articles of dress, from the number and description of their coins, dug out from the ruins of their habitations, we can conjecture, at each fresh antiquarian discovery, whether those long forgotten men were poor or rich, colonists or soldiers, artificers or cultivators of the soil, what they wore, how they were wont to live, at what time they came, and when they departed.

The parish of Tingewick lies about two miles westward from Buckingham, and hard by the track of the ancient Roman roadway leading from Bicester (*Bina Castra*) through Stratton Audley, and Water Stratford (*Via Strata*) in the direction of Towcester. The field in which the discoveries have been made bears the name of "Stollidge" and has been long under the plough. The soil is of a loamy nature, scarcely two feet in depth, with a substratum of strong hard gravel. From the position of the foundations, the buildings must have stood on the brow of a hill, which slopes in a north-westerly direction towards the river Ouse, about a quarter of a mile below Tingewick Mill, and their inhabitants would have been well supplied with excellent water from very strong springs, close to their dwellings. On the situation of the buildings, Mr. Beesley remarks, "The aspect is unusual; for the spots "selected by the Romans for their country habitations "were commonly upon the southern slope of a hill." At this point, and immediately opposite the foundations discovered, at a distance of not more than two hundred yards, an ancient ford crossed the river. It is now nearly

blocked up by the accumulation of mud, and the growth of sedge, but a public right of road across the river existed until stopped by the formation of the embankment of the Buckinghamshire Railway. The field is unmarked by any of those irregularities of surface which frequently denote the site of former habitations, and owing perhaps to the long course of tillage, nothing indicated the existence of the memorials of human residence buried below. Many years ago, a former occupier, still living, was accustomed to dig and cart away out of various parts of this field considerable quantities of stone and broken tiles, even then supposed to be the remains of ruined buildings, but as no valuable articles were known to have been found there, little or no interest was attached to the circumstance. It is now said that a village tradition always pointed out this spot as the site of "old Tingewick," and assuming that this tradition preceded, and has not been created by the recent discoveries, it must be considered a remarkable instance of the fidelity with which a matter of local tradition has been preserved without any external mark of corroboration, for upwards of fourteen centuries, and a proof that "*oft times relations heretofore accounted fabulous have bin after found to contain in them many footsteps and reliques of something true.*"—*John Milton's History of England, Lond., 1689, vol. 8., p. 7.*

Browne Willis derives the name Tingewick "from *Tede*, "*Gramen*, and *Vicus*, Village, *quasi* a 'Town of Pasture,'" and this derivation, part Saxon. part Roman, may suggest the idea of a Roman village reoccupied or rebuilt by the Saxons. The present village of Tingewick is to the south, or south-west, and upwards of a quarter of a mile distant from the field "Stollidge." Now the recent discoveries lead to the inference that after the destruction of the Roman village, no later buildings took their place upon the same spot. Had a Saxon or any other village in after times occupied this site, some traces of theirs must have been left behind. But all the antiquities hitherto found, are exclusively Romano-British, and can only be assigned to the period of the Roman occupation of Britain.

The first discovery of these remains was, as frequently happens in such instances, the result of accident. A ploughman of Mr. Greaves, while at his work in the autumn of 1860, found the plough strike on some hard

substance. On throwing out a few shovelful of earth, the foundations of a strongly built stone wall were exposed, enclosing a recess lined with mortar baked hard to a light red colour, and furnished with a drain through the outer wall. When this was communicated to Mr. Greaves, he at once prosecuted further investigations. Under his superintendence more earth was excavated, and the line of wall followed, disclosing the foundations of a detached oblong building, divided into two apartments, and described upon the plan by the letters A to I. The external length of this edifice was twenty-two feet four inches, its breadth twelve feet. It stood North and South, with the smaller of the two chambers (E) towards the East. In this apartment was placed the recess (F,G) which first attracted the notice of the ploughman. It measured three feet ten inches in length and twenty-two inches across, the sides and bottom plastered with mortar hardened by fire. A moulding also of the same material, (G) two and a half inches wide and of the same depth, is carried round the bottom, and a drain or flue (H) five and a half inches by six, sunk a little below this level, passes through the outer wall in the first or lowest course of the foundation. In its passage through the wall the flue is covered with one strong tile fifteen inches in length by one and a half thick. The whole of the recess is embedded in strong masonry; on the South side, eighteen inches thick; on the East, two feet ten inches; on the North, towards the smaller apartment, two feet; and on the West, towards the larger apartment, three feet. By this recess the size of the eastern chamber (E) is much reduced, and it only measures six feet six inches by four feet ten inches. No part unfortunately of the floor of this apartment has been discovered *in situ*, nor are there any indications to show its exact position. But it may be presumed to have been not lower than the ground round it, since the gravel bed on which the building stands rises to the same height within the walls of this chamber with that outside, and evidently has never been disturbed. Assuming the floor of the chamber to have been on this level, the bottom of the recess was seventeen inches below it.

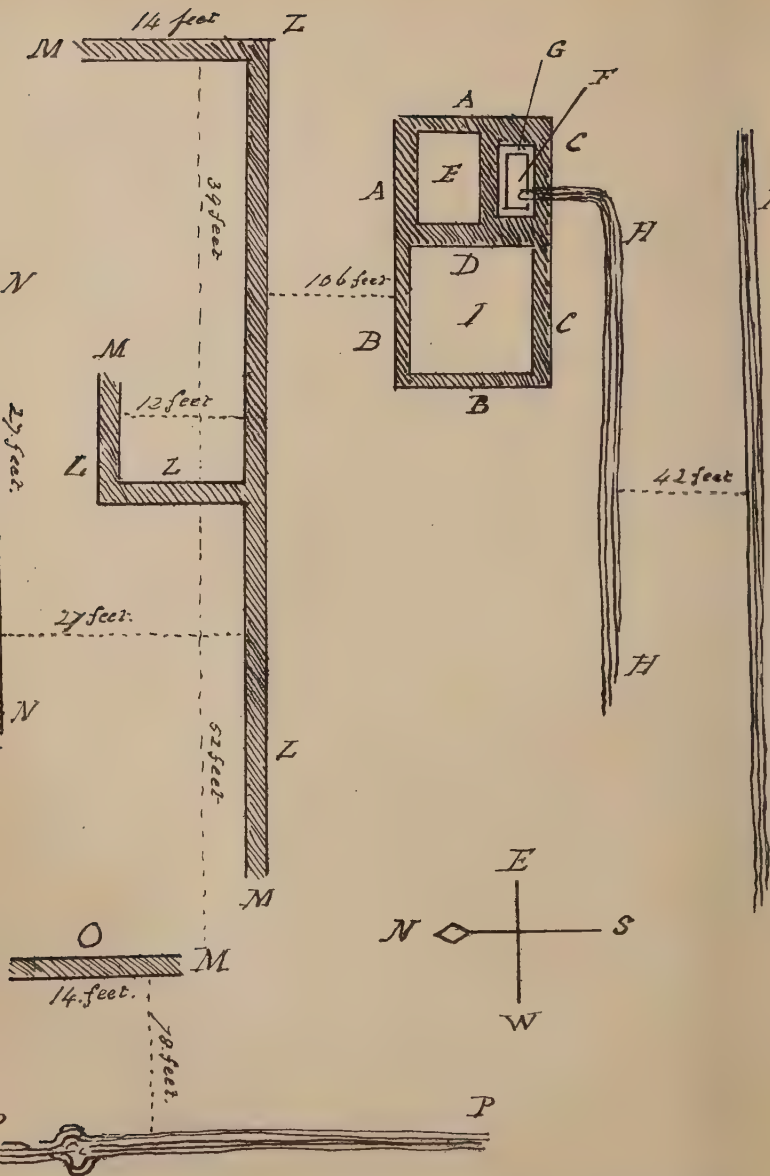
It now remains to describe the larger apartment (I) placed towards the West. The partition wall (D) between it and the adjoining chamber was in breadth twenty

inches; the other walls all of them outer ones, less thick. That on the South (C) eighteen inches; that on the West (B) only twelve. The North wall which while forming the smaller apartment was twenty inches, suddenly became reduced to twelve (B) on entering the larger apartment, and the advantage of this space was given to the chamber, which measured eleven feet six inches by nine feet six inches. Here in one corner a single paving tile remained in its original position, showing the pavement of this chamber to have been thirteen inches below the bottom of the recess, and two feet six inches lower than the presumed level of the other apartment. The walls of the whole building were so entirely razed that the position of the doorways could not be determined.

From the complete demolition that has taken place, the precise purposes to which the building was applied cannot be ascertained with undoubted accuracy. The number of flue tiles excavated from this spot, within and without the walls, lead Mr. Beesley to conjecture it to have been a hypocaust or vapour bath, and he accounts for the absence of the piers on the supposition of the frequent disturbance of the ground by former occupiers.

PLATE I. Ground Plan of the Building, lettered from A to I.

- A A. The outer walls of the smaller chamber, on the North and East twenty inches in thickness.
- B B. The outer walls of the larger chamber, on the North and West twelve inches in thickness.
- C C. The outer wall on the Southern side, eighteen inches in thickness.
- D. The partition wall between the chambers, twenty inches in thickness.
- E. The Eastern or smaller apartment, six feet six inches by four feet ten inches.
- F. The bottom of the recess, exclusive of the mouldings, three feet five inches by seventeen inches.
- G. The mouldings of the recess, two inches and a half wide.
- H. The drain leading from the recess through the outer wall and continued down the hill.
- I. The Western or larger apartment, eleven feet six inches by nine feet six inches.



Ground Plan of Roman Foundations discovered
at Tingewick, Bucks. 1860. 1861.

An excavation on the outside of the wall at the point where the flue passed through, discovered the existence of a drain (H), probably when in use only an open trench, paved with rough stones, and now about three feet below the surface of the field. Its course ran in a Westerly direction down the hill and was easily followed to its outlet on the slope by the line of black crumbling earth which formed its bottom. Here were found bones of animals, oyster and snail shells, and broken pottery in profusion, pretty equally distributed along the whole length, but in the greatest abundance in the curve of the drain close to the building.

The success of these investigations encouraged Mr. Greaves to explore further. Traces were found of another ditch (K) forty-two feet South of the first and parallel with it, but the excavations here, although continued with much perseverance produced nothing of value. On the opposite side however of the foundations already described, at a distance of thirty-five yards the labourers met with the foundations of another and much larger building. They were uniformly two feet thick, and their position and length are shown upon the plan (L to O.) At all the points marked M, these foundations break off abruptly, as do also the other fragments (N and O), the rest of the walls having evidently been dug out, and that at so distant a period as to destroy all hope of now tracing their course. Assuming that the walls, of which these foundations are the sole remaining fragments, were once connected, they would have enclosed an area ninety-three feet by twenty-seven feet. And the length of the Southern wall, of the foundations of which eighty feet still exist, seems to favour the conjecture that these walls formed but one edifice. Below the fragment of foundation (O), lower down on the hill side, the course of another ditch (P), containing several circular rubbish pits, was discovered and followed about forty yards. From this ditch the greater number of the antiquities were exhumed.

PLATE I. Explanation continued, lettered from K to P.

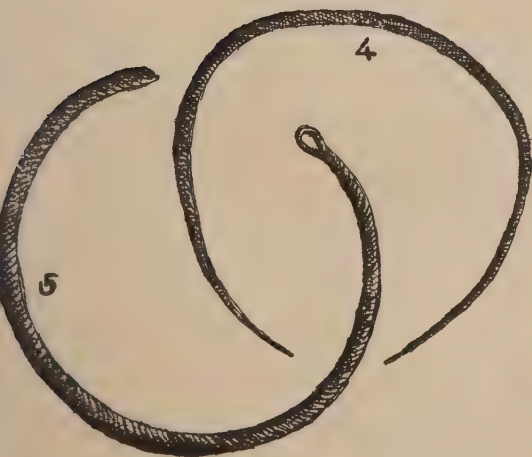
KK. A second ditch, forty-two feet South of the building described.

LL. Portions of the foundations of another building thirty-five yards distant from the supposed hypocaust and to the North of it.

- M M. The points where the foundations abruptly terminate, the remainder having been excavated at a distant period.
- N N. Part of a foundation, twenty-seven feet in length, and at a distance of twenty-seven feet from, and parallel with, the long Southern wall of the building L.
- O. Fragment of a wall, fourteen feet long, at right angles to the last mentioned walls, and at a distance of fifty-two feet from, and parallel with the interior wall of the building L.
- P P. Another drain, on the slope of the hill, containing several circular holes or rubbish pits, seventy-eight feet below the foundation O; excavated for about one hundred and twenty feet.

The antiquities discovered at Tingewick in the course of these excavations were very numerous. The ditches were filled with broken pottery, tiles, and bones of animals; iron nails, coins, and implements occurred occasionally. Round the foundations fragments of tiles abounded, showing great variety of pattern, size, and shape, smooth and impressed, straight and flanged, and in company with them, pieces of earthenware vessels for domestic use. In one part of the field a large quantity of dark-colored earth, resembling mould was found, and when carefully sifted by Mr. Greaves' order, yielded several articles of interest. Out of the many antiquities brought to light, the following have been selected for illustration, and the representations are of the same size as the originals:—

PLATE II. Figure 1. Pair of bronze compasses in perfect preservation, six and a half inches long, found by Mr. Greaves close to the smaller building, and undoubtedly the most curious object discovered. They are remarkable for the peculiarity of their construction, being made to work upon a nail, as a pivot or axis, the pointed or sharp end of the nail projecting half an inch on the side opposite to the head or nut, and having the point bent downwards. In his important work, *Récueil d'Antiquités, Paris, 1762, Tome 5, p. 238*, M. Caylus comments upon the great rarity of these instruments, and figures a pair of compasses in Plate LXXXV, fig. 5, of the

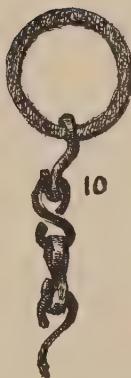




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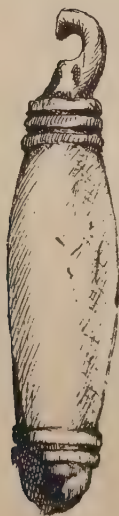
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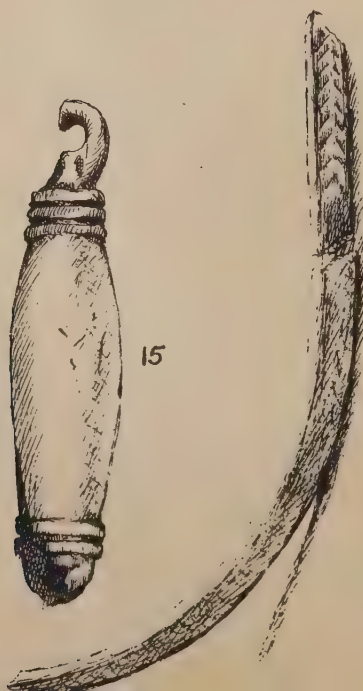
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same volume, which in the axis projecting on one side much resemble those of Mr. Greaves. A very similar pair may be seen in the British Museum, *Foreign Bronze Room, Case A*. Two pair of Roman compasses have been found at Cirencester both wanting the elongated point, one of them is described and figured in "The Archæological Journal," *vol. vii. p. 412*.

Figures 2 to 7. Portions of bronze *armillæ* or bracelets. No. 2 shews the "circle and point" pattern between four incised lines; and No. 3 "the point pattern." *Armillæ* precisely similar to both these patterns were discovered at Cadbury Castle near Tiverton, Devon, in the year 1848, and are engraved at *page 193* of the Fifth volume of "The Archæological Journal." Another found at Cirencester resembling Figure 6, is engraved in the Seventh volume of the Journal at *page 410*.

PLATE III. Figure 8. Part of a necklace, made of rings of silver wire, ornamented with glass beads. The rings, each consisting of two coils of fine wire, are set alternately two and three together, divided by small beads of dark blue glass. The fragment is five inches in length, and the clasp at one end remains perfect.

Figure 9. The pin of a *Fibula* or brooch, four inches in length and formerly gilt. A very similar bronze pin, from Woodperry, Oxon, is figured in "The Archæological Journal," 1846, *vol. iii. p. 120*.

Figure 10. Bronze ring with hoop and two links of wire chain, broken.

Figure 11. Part of a clasp, or snap; bronze and formerly gilt, seems to have belonged to a belt.

Figure 12. Triangular piece of bronze; the surface and edges, which are rough, appear to have been plated with gold, probably part of some ornament.

Figures 13, 14. Bronze rings.

Figure 15. Bone handle of a knife. The knife was worn at the girdle to which it was attached by a riband or string, passed through the hole at the upper end. The smaller hole at the other end contained the rivet on which the blade worked,

and the green stains on the bone at this part show the rivet to have been bronze or copper.

Figure 16. Fragment of a bone *armilla* or bracelet.

Figure 17. Bone pin, broken however at both ends.

PLATE IV. Figure 18. Comb, formed of several pieces of bone rivetted together with bronze fastenings. It was quite perfect when first discovered. A similar comb found in Yorkshire is preserved in the Museum of Antiquities at York. And a bronze comb of this description dug up at Chesterford, in Essex, is figured in "The Journal of the British Archæological Association," 1848, *vol. iii. p. 210.*

Figure 19. Flat piece of bone, nearly square, with a small hole perforated at each of the four corners. Use unknown, but supposed by Mr. Beesley to have been attached to the girdle or some portion of the dress.

Figures 20 to 23. Portions of *cultra* or knives. Nos. 20-22 are iron, No 23 bronze. Similar examples have been found in London and at Hod Hill, near Blandford in Dorset; some of the latter are engraved in "The Journal of the British Archæological Association," 1848, *vol. iii. p. 97.*

PLATE V. Figure 24. Iron *patera*. See the same volume of "The Journal of the Archæological Association," *p. 211.* Another and a larger *patera*, much broken, was found at Tingewick.

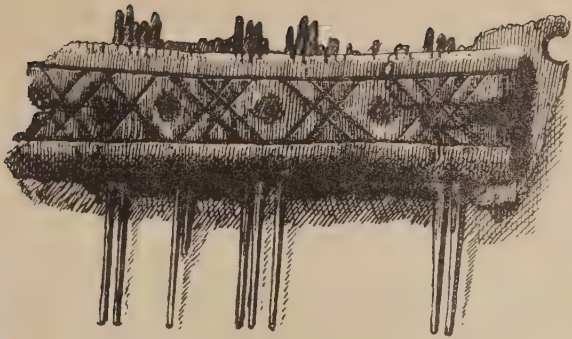
Figure 25. The head of a dart or small spear, iron, much corroded.

Figure 26. An iron arrow head. This is identical in size and shape with an example found at Woodperry, co. Oxon, and figured in "The Archæological Journal" for 1846, *vol. iii. p. 120.*

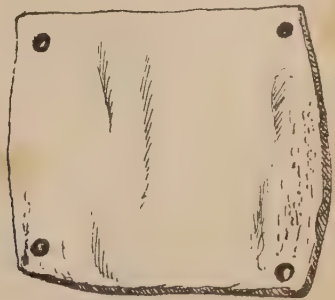
Figure 27. Fragment of an iron hook or bill, which may have been used as a pruning knife. For pruning hooks of this description from Waterperry, see "The Archæological Journal," *vol. iii. p. 122.*

Figure 28. Iron pin, use unknown. It may have been a *ligula* or probe, similar to that figured in Mr. A. Way's representation of Roman relics from

18.



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Silchester, in "The Archæological Journal," vol. viii. p. 245.

Besides these antiquities, various other articles were discovered; among them, a large iron ladle for melting metal, a lump of molten lead, another of bronze, pieces of charcoal, a large quantity of nails, an iron spindle, several bronze *styli* or pens for writing, a key like one found at Hadstock, in Essex, numerous fragments of Stonesfield slate used for the roofs, some of them having the nails by which they were fastened to the timber still remaining in them, and a piece of Andernach lava, which from its shape may have formed the key stone of an arch.

The fragments of pottery, occurring in all parts of the field, were carefully collected and proved very numerous, sufficient to fill several wheel-barrows. Out of the immense mass, Mr. Greaves, after great patience and labour, has been successful in joining together a few pieces, which permit a conjecture to be offered of the shape or size or use of the original vessels of which they have formed parts, and a careful examination of all the pottery has been made by Mr. Beesley, the result of which will be best given in his own words—

"No complete articles of pottery were found; but the number of fragments was, as usual in such spots, very great. It should be recollected that these and other things which have been collected upon ancient sites are mostly obtained from rubbish pits, or other receptacles of refuse, where none but broken or worthless pottery would be thrown. And the same may generally be said of other objects, however we may now prize them, found in the same position.

"Many of the pieces of pottery are, however, quite sufficient to enable us to distinguish the shape, size, and ornamentation of the vessels to which they belonged. No potter's name or mark occurred upon any of them. Of *Amphoræ*, of large size, in coarse light red ware, were many pieces. There were numerous fragments of *mortaria*, shallow, basin-shaped vessels, with overhanging rims serving as handles, and spouts, with fragments of coarse sand or iron-scoriæ imbedded in the inner surface, and which apparently served for the trituration and heating of soft vegetables. These were in red and cream colored clay. One only was roughened with iron scoriæ; this variety is

unusual in these parts, siliceous sand being ordinarily used. The perfect vessels must have varied in diameter from six inches to one foot.

“Somewhat similar in shape to the *mortaria*, but more carefully and elegantly formed with an under rim serving as a foot, and made of a fine red clay, which seems, like the so-called Samian ware, to have been covered with a glaze or varnish produced by a wash of fine clay mixed with water, were numerous vessels of which considerable pieces remain. They were from seven to eleven inches in diameter; and one of them is ornamented on the overlapping rim with a series of two concentric segments of circles inclosing a row of dots in white *slip*.

“There are several pieces of a hard cream-colored ware painted with a red clay upon the rims and in the inside. These are of the kind commonly called Romano-British.

“Only one piece of the fine ware, called Samian, occurred. This was a portion of the upper part of a bowl with the usual festoon and tassel ornament.

“Amongst the smaller vessels are pieces of two of red ware, shallow and with bellying sides. They were five inches in diameter. One is ornamented below the rim and projecting sides with rows of impressed vertical lines. The other, of finer ware, once glazed, has on the bellying part alternate ornaments of fern-leaves, and semicircles of adjacent rings. This is, I believe, a rare, if not unique pattern.

“There are many specimens, red, brown, and black, ornamented with white *slip*; one or two specimens of plain ware with copper-coloured glaze (Caistor ware); and heaps of the common black ware, variously ornamented inside or out with indented or scored lines. One piece of hard grey ware, with a deep black glaze, is interesting as making a near approach to modern stoneware, the paste being partially vitrified.

“One fragment is a portion of a vessel, probably a crucible, of black-lead ware such as are used by metallurgists. Under other circumstances this would be thrown aside as undoubtedly modern; but in this case occurring as it does in company with iron ladles, some of which must have been used for melting metals, there is at least suspicion of its ancient character, and the more so as there is reason to believe that the Roman metallurgists did use plumbago crucibles.

“A few pieces of glass were found, probably portions of ampullæ or small flasks. They are yellower in colour than the usual Roman glass, but very different to modern glass work.”

In addition to the antiquities already described, coins were frequently exhumed, though occurring more sparingly and of less intrinsic value than in some other Romano-British settlements of no greater extent. These coins were found singly and pretty equally distributed through the field, none being discovered in the masonry of the foundations or withinside the walls. This leads to the conclusion that they had been lost by accident or thrown away rather than buried by their owners. They are thirty-nine in number, two of them “Denarii,” the remainder of the currency denominated “Third Brass.” Some are in fine preservation, and those on which the inscriptions are most legible may be assigned as follows:—

I.—ELAGABALUS. Denarius, silver, A.D. 218—222.

Obverse: Head of the Emperor, laureated.

ANTONINVS PIVS AVG

Reverse: Figure seated in a curule chair, extending his right hand holding an apple, his feet upon a mat, SECVRIT . . . RII

II.—CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS. Third Brass, A.D. 292.

Obverse: Head of Emperor, diademed.

CONSTANTIVS AVG

Reverse: Pretorian Gate; over it three stars; PROVIDEN . . . AVGG

III.—LICINIUS. Third Brass, finely patinated, A.D. 307—323.

Obverse: Head of Emperor, to the left, filletted, IMP LICINIVS PF AVG

Reverse: Genius standing; in her right hand a patera; in her left a cornucopia. In the field a star. On the exergue PLN (London)
GENIO POP ROM

IV.—1. CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS. Third Brass, well preserved, A.D. 306—337.

THE (a.)

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the right, galeated.

IMP CONSTAN . S . . X AVG

Reverse: Two winged figures supporting a shield

inscribed



above a cippus inscribed X

On the exergue S T R

VICTOR

2. Constantinus maximus. Third Brass. *PF*

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the left, filletted.

IMP CONSTANTINVS PP AVG

Reverse: Figure of the Sun standing. In field TE

On the exergue PLN *London*

SOLI INVICTO COMITI

- V.—1. CONSTANTINUS JUNIOR. Third Brass, A.D. 317—340.

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the left, filletted.

CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C

Reverse: A wreath enclosing



On the exergue ISB III

CAESARVM NOSTRORVM

2. Constantinus Junior. Third Brass.

Obverse: similar with the last.

Reverse:



On the exergue STR

3. Constantinus Junior: Third Brass.

Obverse: Head of Emperor as before

... STANTINVS IVN N..

Reverse: Two soldiers supporting a standard.

Legend erased. *GLORIA EXER*

- VI.—CRISPUS. Third Brass, A.D. 322—326

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the right, filletted;

FL IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES

Reverse: Pretorian gate with star. On the exergue PLON (this inscription is supposed to indicate that the coin was struck in London.)

PROVIDENTIAE CAESS

VII.—CONSTANTIUS SECUNDUS. Third Brass, A.D. 323—351.

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the left, diademed.

FL IVL CONSTANTIVS AVG

Reverse: Two soldiers with standard.

On the exergue TR

GLORIA

VIII.—1. MAGNENTIUS. Third Brass, in fine preservation, A.D. 350—353.

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the left, plain. On the right side A

DN MAGNENTIVS PF AVG

Reverse: Two winged figures holding a shield,

inscribed



On the exergue TR

VICTORIA CAES

2. Magnentius. Third Brass.

Obverse: similar with the last.

Reverse: Soldier standing, in his right hand a figure of Victory, in his left a labarum.

Legend erased.

3. Magnentius. Third Brass.

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the right, diademed. Inscription as before.

Reverse: Soldier as before.

.... CITAS REIPUBLIC..

IX.—JULIANUS. Denarius, silver, A.D. 355—363.

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the right, diademed.

FL CL IVLIANVS FP AVG

Reverse: a wreath inclosing

On the exergue PLV



X.—VALENTINIANUS. Third Brass, A.D. 364—375.

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the right, diademed.

DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG

Reverse: Soldier with standard in his left hand, and holding a captive in his right.

On the exergue LVS

GLORIA RO

XI.—GRATIANUS. Third Brass, A.D. 367—383.

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the right, diademed.

DN GRATIANVS PF AVG

Reverse: Victory marching with palm branch and laurel crown. On the exergue TRP

GLORIA ROMANORVM

XII.—THEODOSIUS. Third Brass, A.D. 379—395.

Obverse: Head of Emperor to the right, diademed.

DN THEODOSIVS . PF AVG

Reverse: Two winged figures holding wreaths.

With the foregoing data perhaps it may be allowed to wander a little way into the field of speculation, and hazard a conjecture upon this long buried Roman settlement. The entire absence of all weapons used exclusively for warfare, the circumstance that the ground adjacent no where presents the outline of trench or earth-work, remains which are seldom totally obliterated, seem to indicate that it was never occupied as a military post. Possibly these foundations have supported the villa of a wealthy settler, but as Mr. Beesley has well suggested, the aspect was not that usually selected, and it is hard to believe that the luxurious Roman knight coming from his own warmer climate into Britain, “*penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*,” would build his house towards the cold north-east. Nor have the discoveries hitherto made produced any proofs of former wealth. Had the building been the residence of a man of opulence or taste, some floors at least would have been laid in pattern with plain or colored *tessera*, the interior of the edifice would have been adorned in some parts with mural painting, of which traces would have shown themselves in the broken plaster, yet such tokens of former decoration are wanting. Nothing has been discovered hitherto to remove the idea that the old inhabitants were in a humble condition of life, and that they may have dwelt together either under one roof or in close adjoining habitations for successive generations, supporting themselves either by the chase, or by agricul-

ture, or some other industrial occupation. The small value of their coins, their bracelets made of bronze and bone ornamented with simple patterns, the plain and useful character of their pottery and implements, all indicate a poor community. Even the silver necklace with its glass beads, valuable from the very simplicity of its construction and from its elegance, was no unfitting ornament for the wife or daughter of a Roman peasant. And turning again to the evidences the earth has yielded up, we may further infer a settled and prolonged occupation. The foundations prove the existence of substantial buildings; the coins which bore witness to the poverty of the inhabitants, fix also the period of their residence. Apart from the solitary one of Elagabalus, their coins commence with the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, and end with Theodosius. This would give the Roman settlers about one hundred years of residence, and such a lengthened occupation will go far to account for the vast quantities of broken pottery and bones of animals which surrounded their habitations. What their employment was is yet to be told. The carpenter's compasses, the ladles with the molten metal, seem to show that some were mechanics working at their trade; of others, like their successors in modern Tingewick, it may be supposed that—

Oft did the harvest to their sickle yield,
 Their furrows oft the stubborn glebe hath broke;
 How jocund did they drive their teams afield,
 How bowed the woods beneath their stubborn stroke.

But it is beyond the province of these notes to travel further away. Antiquarian studies have their uses beyond that of assisting history, or affording food for enquiry and speculation, or giving recreation by diverting the mind from the severer cares of life. It is salutary to stand upon a spot where Virgil's prophecy is fulfilled—

*Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
 Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
 Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila:
 Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,*

to think that where now the blade is springing up to the full ear and the joy of harvest, men and women once lived out their span of busy life with its hopes and fears, its successes and disappointments, its friendships and its rivalries, and to mark how, after they had disappeared, the hand of nature has silently buried all the relics of their sojourning, and

their place knoweth them no more. And it is profitable to remember as we walk over the fields and meadows of our County, and search for vestiges of the past in unfrequented places, that the Memorials of those long gone, who in their day were the conquerors of more than half the world, and colonized where they conquered, are often lying beneath our unconscious feet, their empire departed from them, their names forgotten, and the voice now left to them only that which tells of the vanity and decay of earthly possessions, in sunken foundations, in crumbling weapons, in broken vessels, in mouldering bones.

CHALFONT ST. GILES.

The Church, which was re-opened by the Bishop of Oxford, on June 7th, 1863, has been restored under the direction of G. E. Street, Esq. The nave has been paved with Staffordshire tiles, and the north and south aisles with old tomb-stones, thirteen of which have been robbed of their brasses. The font, which is Norman and made of ironstone, has been supplied with four pillars or supporters of purbeck marble, and placed near the west door. During the restoration many interesting objects, which have been hidden by plaster and whitewash for centuries, have been brought to light. Over the Chancel arch was discovered some frescoes, representing turrets and other ornamental work, which have been retained. The south wall of the south aisle was coved with frescoes, representing the Crucifixion, the Daughter of Herodias with the Head of John the Baptist, the Virgin Mary, Adam and Eve being driven out of Paradise, figures with harps, and various kinds of musical instruments, and mottoes in Latin—some of these being in good condition have been preserved. In the same wall has also been brought to light an arched recess, in which has now been deposited a stone coffin, which, with the lid of another having a cross on it, were found under the pews in the nave. Some of the tiles are interesting specimens. One apparently represents a king, one a pilgrim, another a lion, while others are figured with circles, oak leaves, flowers, and similar devices; these have been relaid in different parts of the Church. Thus has this old Church, which before was much dilapidated and shamefully deformed by huge unsightly pews, been carefully restored, both in arrangement and appearance, to the true character of the House of God.



CHESHAM.

BY THE REV. C. LOWNDES, F.R.A.S.

The Parish of Chesham is the largest in the County, and contains seven Hamlets. It is situated on the southern side of the Chiltern Hills, which form so prominent a feature for miles around, and upon which every native of Buckinghamshire must gaze with peculiar interest and delight. Resisting the temptation to allude to the many important relics still extant on this range of hills, corroborative of their past history, I will confine my remarks entirely to the town and neighbourhood of Chesham, the former of which is delightfully situated in a valley surrounded by bold eminences and beech-clad hills.

The earliest extant record relating to Chesham is that contained in the Domesday Survey, under the name of *Cestreham*. And here I will first say a few words on the etymology of *Cestreham* or Chesham. It is a compound word and is generally supposed to be derived from the Roman word "*cestre*" a camp, and the Saxon word "*ham*," signifying a collection of dwellings or plot of ground near a river. But as there are two Cheshams it is fair to assume that something of more influence than a camp must have given its name to both places. Besides, there is no authority from analogy for supposing that in other instances the *Cestre* was ever corrupted into *Ches*. On the other hand, there is nothing more natural or more probable than that Chesham should have had its etymon from the brook *Chess*. Of this kind of nomenclature many instances could be given, as *Trentham* on the *Trent*, *Rotherham* on the *Rother*, *Cheltenham* on the *Chilt*, &c. Again, like those of most of the English streams, *Ches* is obviously a British name; and the fact of its being so near the Chilterns, which formed a prominent stronghold of the Britons, renders its paternity the more probable. Indeed, it is very possible that "*Ches*" is the British

“Ces,” which signified a diverging point or centre from whence any thing separates. Now as several valleys diverge at the junction of the two principal streams, the one rising in Highamead meadow, and the other in the meadows on Frogmoor Farm (and it is at their junction that the town is situated), this may very probably be the etymon of the word. The junction of the two streams seems to be the principal natural feature of the place, (and where they join, there they also separate) and is of course of much greater antiquity than any castrum could be. The Anglo-Saxons have appended the well-known epithet “Ham,” but in their language there is no word at all cognate with Ches.

To return to the Domesday Survey. In this invaluable record an account is given of the Manors and Lands and their value, and the number and apportionment of the lords, freemen, and cottagers, not only at the time when it was made, but prior to the conquest of England by William the Norman, in 1066. It appears that all the Saxon proprietors having been dispossessed by William, the several Manors and Lands in Cestreham were given by him to four of his dependants, who came over from Normandy with him, viz.: Odo Bishop of Baieux, Hugh de Bolebec, Turstin Mantel, and Alsî. The Manor given to the Bishop of Baieux, who possessed twenty-eight other manors and lands in Bucks, was formerly held by two sokemen or “freeholders subject to service or rent,” one a vassal of Earl Leuvin; the other a vassal of Earl Harold; and was worth sixty shillings. The Bishop had also two mills, worth three shillings, and held one hide and a half of land. The principal manor was given to Hugh de Bolebec, who was of baronial dignity, possessing large estates in this and the adjoining county of Bedford, and who built a castle at Whitchurch, five miles north of Aylesbury. This manor was formerly held by Brictric, a vassal of Queen Eddid. Its whole value was ten pounds save three shillings; but in King Edward the Confessor’s time, twelve pounds. Hugh also held eight hides and a half of land; had one mill of ten shillings, and pannage for 800 hogs. Turstin Mantel, who possessed other lands in Missedene and Elmodesham, appears to have had the smallest share in Cestreham, for he held only half a hide and it was waste, worth only five shillings.

This land was formerly held by Epy, a vassal of Brietric's. The third manor, formerly held by Queen Eddid, was given by her to Alsi after the coming of King William. Alsi held of the King four hides; he had also pannage for 800 hogs, and one mill of six shillings and eight-pence. At the time of the survey and previously, it was worth four pounds; in King Edward's time, one hundred shillings.

At the time of the survey, the land under cultivation in Chesham amounted to fourteen hides and a half,* and allowing to the extent of 100 to 120 acres for each hide, which Camden in his "Remaines" says, is "so much land as one plough can plow in a yere," the portion of land under tillage at that time offers a striking contrast to the state of agriculture at the present period. But the principal part was woodland, and was occupied as "pannage," or keep on beech masts and acorns, "for hogs;" woodland at that time being valued not according to its extent, but according to the number of hogs it would keep. The town and neighbourhood, 800 years ago, presented however some at least of the same characteristics and general features which they do at the present day. At that time even as now, the hills were covered with beech woods, and along the valleys there flowed, then as now, the bright clear water of many springs, which, gathering into one stream, formed the little river Chess, and supplied the motive power to four water or grist-mills, to which in those feudal times even as at present, the produce of the ploughed lands was wont to be carried.

Of the three manors in Cestreham recorded in the survey, the one given by William the Conqueror to Hugh de Bolebec descended to his eldest son Hugh, and afterwards to his second son Walter, who left only one daughter Isabel his heir, then but nine years of age. She was a ward of Alberic de Vere, first Earl of Oxford, who gave a fine of 500 marks to the King that his second son Robert de Vere might take her to wife; and in the ninth year of the reign of John, this Robert de Vere, afterwards third Earl of Oxford, gave to the King 200 marks and 3 palfreys for license to marry her the said Isabel. As the de Veres

* In the reign of Henry III., Chesham was returned as comprising only about fifteen hides, valued at £18 5s. 0d.; and in King Edward's time, at £21 5s. 0d.

were one of the most ancient and illustrious families in the annals of our history, and were in possession of this and the other two manors for a number of years, I will give a brief account of the particulars of their connection with them. Alberic or Aubrey de Vere, son of Alphonso Count of Ghines, descended from a younger son of the Count of Flanders, came over with the Conqueror, from whom he received various lordships, principally in Essex and Suffolk, and had his residence at Colne, Essex. He died 1088, and was succeeded by his son Alberic, who was created Lord Great Chamberlain by Henry I., and slain in a London mob, 1140. His son and heir, Aubrey de Vere, was created

(1.) Earl of Oxford by the Empress Maud, 1137, and confirmed by Henry II. in 1155. The office of Lord Great Chamberlain was granted to him and made heritable to his family. Before 1155, he was created Earl of Cambridge-shire, if the King of Scotland claimed it not, but if he did, then he was to have his choice of Oxford, Berks, Wilts, or Dorset; at last Henry II. gave him the third penny or the pleas of the Earl of Oxford, "*ut sit inde Comes.*" He died 1194.

(2.) Aubrey de Vere, his son, succeeded as Earl of Oxford and Lord Great Chamberlain. He was one of John's evil counsellors, and died without issue 1214, when Robert de Vere his brother succeeded him as

(3.) Earl of Oxford and Lord Great Chamberlain. He was one of the 25 Barons who were appointed to enforce Magna Charta. He married, as I have said, Isabel, daughter of Walter de Bolebec, and took possession of the Manor of Chesham. Dying 1221, he was buried cross-legged in the Priory of Hatfield Broad Oak, co: Hertford, of which he was the founder.

(4.) Hugh de Vere, his son, was the next Earl of Oxford and Lord Great Chamberlain. Henry III. granted to him in "*Cestreham mercat: feria*"*—a weekly market. His wife Alice held the Manor of Chesham, with the lands and tenements, by the service of providing one waiting-damsel for the use of the Queen on the day of her coronation.† Hugh died 1263, and was succeeded by

* *Rotulus Chartarum.*

† *Rotulorum originalum in curia seaccarii abbreviatis*, vol. i. p. 195.

(5.) Robert de Vere, his son, who gave to his daughter Joane, on the occasion of her marriage with William de Warren, lands in Cestreham of ten pounds per annum. He died 1296 and was succeeded by

(6.) His son Robert de Vere; to whom King Edward III. granted "that he and his heirs shall hold for ever in Chesham, view of frankpledge and all other profits which his sheriff in the view of frankpledge, by hidage, fine for fairpleading, suit, ward, or in any other manner, annually receives in augmentation of his maintenance, for the consideration of five marks" paid to the King into his Exchequer.* He died without issue 1331, and was succeeded by

(7.) John de Vere, his nephew; from whom Edward III. received homage for the manors of Chesham and Calverton with the appurtenances, which Robert de Vere, late Earl of Oxford deceased, held in capite by the service of two Knight's fees and a half, and by sergeanty to wit

* *View of Frankpledge.* The ancient custom of the free men of England for the preservation of the public peace was, that every free born man at fourteen years of age, priests and knights excepted, should find surety towards the King, or else be kept in prison; whereupon a certain number of persons became customarily bound over for the other, to see each man of their pledge forthcoming at all times, so that whosoever offended, it was forthwith enquired in what pledge he was, and then they of that pledge either brought him forth within thirty-one days to his answer, or else satisfied for his offence. This was called frankpledge, and the circuits those of decenna, because they generally consisted of ten houses, and the persons holding them were called Decenniers. This usage was so kept that the sheriffs did from time to time, at the county courts, take the oaths of young persons as they attained fourteen, and saw that they were comprised in some pledge, wherefore this branch of the sheriff's authority was styled "*visus franci plegii.*" In order to enforce this essential part of police, the courts of the town and leet were erected, or rather were separated from that of the county.—*Hidage* was an extraordinary tax, payable anciently to the King for every hide of land. King Ethelred, A.D. 994, when the Danes landed at Sandwich, taxed all his land by hides. Henry I., in order to marry his daughter Maud to the Emperor Henry IV. of Germany, took of every hide of land in England three shillings.—*Fine for fairpleading.* Fines were a great branch of the royal revenue in early times; they were sometimes inflicted and sometimes paid voluntarily. Instances occur of fines paid "for the King's good will," "that he would remit his anger," "for his mediation;" the Bishop of Winchester pays a tun of good wine, as a fine, for not reminding King John to present a girdle to the Countess of Albemarle; and Robert de Vaux gives his five best palfreys "*ut Rex taceat de uxore Henrici Pinel.*" The fine for *fairpleading* was a fine which the sheriff took in his court from either party, for that he pleadeth not fairly.—*Ward.* The Lord's privilege of holding lands during his or her minority, and giving him or her in marriage.

to serve as chamberlain in the King's chamber on the day of his coronation.* He died 1360, and was succeeded by his son

(8.) Thomas de Vere, who married, during his father's life-time, Maud the daughter of Ralph de Ufford, at which time he had the manor of Chesham settled upon him and her, and the heirs male of their two bodies. He died 1371, and was succeeded by his son

(9.) Robert de Vere, to whom, amongst other manors, that of Chesham with the Leet (parcel of the Barony of Bulbeck) descended. He was created Marquis of Dublin in 1386, and Duke of Ireland the following year. In 1388, he was attainted of high treason, and all his possessions confiscated, excepting his entailed lands, which only were to remain to his right heirs. He was banished; and being wounded in hunting by a wild boar, died from his wounds at Louvain in great penury, in 1392. Dying without issue, he was succeeded by his uncle

(10.) Alberic de Vere, who, by assent of Parliament, was restored to all those lands which had been by fine entailed upon his nephew; and had also the name, title, and honor of Earl of Oxford granted to him and to his heirs male: but being infirm, the office of Lord High Chamberlain was bestowed by the King on John Holland, Earl of Huintendon, to hold for term of life. He died in 1400, and was succeeded by

(11.) Richard de Vere, then fourteen years of age. Upon his assent that the Duchess Philippa, widow of Robert de Vere, 9th Earl of Oxford, should enjoy her dower, the King granted to him and his heirs all those lands and tenements, which by forfeiture of Duke Robert, came to the crown. He died 1417, and was succeeded by his son

(12.) John de Vere, then nine years of age. He obtained a confirmation from the King of the office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England, originally granted to his ancestor Alberic de Vere by Henry I. He was attainted and beheaded with Alberic his eldest son in 1464, and was succeeded by his second son

(13.) John de Vere, who obtained a reversal of the proceedings of the Parliament of 1 Henry IV., by which

* Rotulorum originalium in curia scaccarii abbreviatis, vol. ii. p. 59.

he was restored to the original Earldom of Oxford. He was attainted 1474; when Richard Duke of Gloucester, obtained a grant of Chesham and Aston Sandford as part of his possessions. He was restored 1485, and dying without issue in 1513, was succeeded by his nephew

(14.) John de Vere, commonly called Little John of Campes, and had a special livery of all those lands whereunto he was heir. Dying without issue, 1516, his three sisters became his heirs; but the Earldom of Oxford, and all that part of the inheritance which was entailed, came to

(15.) John de Vere, his nephew, whose wife, Alice de Vere, held at her death one messuage, a garden, a piece of meadow with 60 acres of land, a water-mill, and 69s. 4d. rents in Chesham, of the King *in capite* as part of the Earldom of Oxford. He died at his manor of Colne, 1539, and was succeeded by his son

(16.) John de Vere, to whom, in 1532, Henry VIII. granted, amongst others, the manors of Chesham Bury, and Chesham Higham. He died 1562, and was succeeded by his son

(17.) Edward de Vere, who was one of the Peers appointed by special commission to try Mary Queen of Scots. He died 1604, and was succeeded by his son

(18.) Henry de Vere, who died at the siege of Breda in the Netherlands, and was succeeded by his cousin

(19.) Robert de Vere. A contest arose in 1626, between Robert de Vere claiming as heir male, and Lord Willoughby D'Eresby claiming, thro' a female, as heir-general to the last Earl. Charles I. referred the matter to the House of Lords, who called the Judges to their assistance. Their opinion was delivered by Lord Chief Justice Crewe in the following terms:—

“This great and weighty cause, incomparable to any other of the sort that hath happened at any time, requires much deliberation and solid and mature judgment to determine it. Here is represented to your Lordships certamen honoris, illustrious honour. I heard a great peer of this realm and a learned man say when he lived—‘there is no King in Christendom hath such a subject as Oxford.’ And well might this be said, for De Vere came in with the Conqueror, being the Earl of Gaynes; shortly after the conquest he was made Great Chamberlain by

Henry I., the Conqueror's son, above 500 years ago. By Maud the Empress he was created Earl of Oxford, the grant being *Alberico Comite*, so that he was clearly an Earl before. He was confirmed and approved by Henry Fitz-Empress, Henry II. This great honour, this high and noble dignity hath continued ever since in its remarkable surname of De Vere by so many ages, descents and generations, as no other kingdom can produce such a peer in one and the selfsame name and title. I find in all this time but two attainders in this noble family, and those in stormy times, when the government was unsettled and the kingdom in competition. I have laboured to make a covenant with myself, that affection may not press upon judgment, for I suppose there is no man that hath any apprehension of gentry and nobleness, but his affection stands to the continuance of a house so illustrious, and would take hold of a twig or twine thread to uphold it. And yet time hath his revolutions; there must be a period and an end to all temporal things—*finis rerum*—an end of names and dignities, and whatsoever is terrene; and why not of De Vere? For where is Bohun? where is Mowbray? where is Mortimer? nay, what is more and most of all, where is Plantagenet? They are entombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality! Yet let the name of De Vere stand so long as it pleaseth God."

The judgment went in favor of Robert, as the Parliament of sixth year of the reign of Richard II. had entailed the earldom on Aubrey and his heirs male, though originally it had been held in fee simple; but the Chamberlainship passed to Lord Willoughby D'Eresby. Earl Robert was killed at Maestricht in 1632, and was succeeded by his son

(20.) Aubrey de Vere, the last Earl of Oxford. He was created Knight of the Garter in the reign of Charles II. Dying without issue, 1702, the Earldom became extinct.*

From the De Veres the three manors of Great Chesham, Chesham Higham, (so called from the acquisition of an estate by marriage of W. Rowe of Higham Hall, co: Essex, with Anne, daughter of John Cheyne of Chesham

* In 1711, Robert Harley, speaker of the House of Commons, was by Queen Anne created Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer.

Bois, who died in 1596,) and Chesham Bury passed into the family of the Seymours, and from them to the family of the Sandys, who were also possessors of the manor of Latimer. These four manors were afterwards disposed of to the Cavendish family, and have descended to their present possessor Lord Chesham. I have not entered into any of the many interesting particulars relating to the Manor, Estate, and Church of Latimer, a small hamlet in the parish of Chesham, but leave it for a paper at some future period.

The manor of the Grove was for many generations in the family of Cheney, whose history, written by the Rev. W. H. KELKE, has been published in the "Records" of our Society.

The manor of Hundridge is only a reputed manor, but the substantially built house, with its pannelled rooms and adjoining desecrated chapel, prove that it has been a place of some importance in days gone by.

In one of the old entry books of the Court Leets* of the manors of Chesham, dated 1552, and now in the possession of the Steward of the manors, are the following singular entries, one of them giving the names of the landlord and tenant of Hundridge at that time, and shewing the honesty of two men in convicting their own brother.

"1587. A remembrance of the p'sentm^{ts} fitt for notice to be taken of them.

"M^d that in vicessimio nono Eliz: William Chase the farmer of Hundridge and then S^r Rob^t Dormer owner thereof and being now S^r Rob^t Pycs. There came in that time a couple of Straye Bucks within the Lopp (*Lordship*) and Manno^r of Chesham which Bucks were killed within the Manno^r without the Lords leave whereof the said William Chase killed one of them within the hamblett of Hundridge and one Jeremiah Payne killed the other within the hamblett of Bellenden. And further it is to be observed That at the next Court following, a Jury was impaneld and this William Chase had two brothers named John Chase and Richard who were impanelled upon the Jury, and the killing of those two Bucks being given them in charge for killing them

* The last Court Leet was held in 1842.

within the Manno^r (without the Lords leave, John Chase and Richard who were impanell'd upon the jurye and the killing of them within the Manno^r without the Lords leave) John Chase and Richard being Jurors presented their owne brother William Chase for killing one of those Buckes and fined him 10s. for soc docing and Jeremy Payne the like for the other.

"Alsoe in 4th Jac^s and in Anō doñi 1621 a ffayre pr'ssentm^t against some for the fishing in the water or River against Mr Gawdrewes house that now is But then and since was Hen: Meretoux."

And in Ann. 1621.

"A p'sentm^t against some that had fished in the water called frogmore."

The Ecclesiastical history of Chesham would open too wide a subject to be entered into fully in all its details; but a concise account of it must be given. The Living formerly consisted of two medieties, the great and the small tithes of which were appropriated to the convents of Leicester and Woburn, each of which appointed a Vicar.

The mediety of the Church of Chesham Leicester was given by Robert de Syfrewast to the convent of St. Mary's—"Prē juxta Leicester." This gift was confirmed by a charter of Henry II.; and then King John by his charter, confirmed it and the exchanges that had been made with the Bishop of Lincoln. One of the early Abbots of the convent of Leicester was a native of Chesham, Alan de Cestreham, who was appointed the 19th Henry III., and sat nine years. In the reign of Edward IV., a terrier was made of all the lands in Chesham belonging to Leicester Abbey, and is to be found in the Library of the British Museum, No. Galba E. iii. of the Cottonian MSS., p. 131, from which the following is an extract:—

"Chesham Leycety in the com. of Buk.

"Perteyninge to the towne of Chesham, and within the constabulwyke there. Yt is to be remembered and to be understonde that theis p'sent scripcons folowing, makynge-money-on where that alle the glebis and tythes of bladis and of heyze, and also of all the rentes, sute, servyee, and demayne londis, w^{ch} ther apperten' ben and owet to be hadde, receyved, gadered and lenyde wythin the lymytes, markes, and boundes

of the p'rsche and the pte of Cheshā Leyceſt' foreseyde, in the seyde cōm of Buk, the whiche ben perteyning and belongyng, by dew and ryght of old custome unto the rectorye and p'sonage ther of the lord abbot and convent of the monastery of the blessed Mary Virgin in the mede of Leyceſt', be the ryght of her chyrche, called the chyrche of Chesham Leyceſt', in the seide com of Buk, as the hameletis and constabulwykes in those subſcripſions, thereof here after wroten and made plenary apperyng: The whiche ben renewed atte Chesham Leyceſt' forsayde, at the tide of the yere called hokketyde. In the yere of owre Lord God a MCCC^{CLXVIII}, and the VIII. yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the III., Be Wylliam Wedon, bayly of Chesham forsaide, and fermo also unto the sayde abbot and convent of ther seyde cherche and p'sonage. And also be the conceyting and a vyse knowlychyng, rehersyng, tellyng, utteryng, and declaryng of the most aged men and best theryn and therof aversed of all the seyde p'rsche and parishes, and also of all themits there of the seide abbot an cōvent. Wythyn the constabulwyke of Chesham towne foreseyde."

"In the first. Alle the glebys and tythes of the londys, with app'tin', called coppid-thorne of Thomas lynde, Esquier, lord of the man' of Cheshm Bury, lying in a feld there called chyrcheſelde &c."

The terrier then is continued through more than thirteen pages of folio, containing an exact description of all the lands and tithes belonging to the Abbey, viz., of "Chesham Boys, within the constabulwyke of the duchery of langcastell there and also of the Lordshippe of latimer there:" "the hamelett of Layhull; the hameletis of Whelpley Wyth, in the constabulwyke there of the honoure of Walyngforde; and the hameletis of Acheley Grene, of Belenden, of Asherugge, of Charterugge, of Hunrugge, of Chesh'm Dene, otherwyse called Cheshā Water Wyth, and of Botteley."

In the 27th year of the reign of Henry VIII., the tithes of Chesham Leicester were demised by the Abbot and Convent of Leicester to Christopher Ashfield for fifty years, on the payment of the yearly sum of £13 6s. 8d. At the dissolution of the monastery of Leicester, the living became the property of the Crown, and Queen Elizabeth granted it, at the expiration of the said term of fifty years, to Thomas Ashfield for £53 6s. 8d. for four years only. But afterwards, in 1602, in the 44th year of her reign, she granted it for the sum of £579 2s. 2d. to him and his heirs in fee for ever, to hold it as of the manor of East Greenwich with the advowson of the vicarage. In the year 1650 a descendant of the Ashfield's sold the rectorial manor of Chesham Leicester, together with the advowson of a mediety of the Vicarage, to the family of the Whichecotes. The Rectory House was for some time the residence of that family, whose chief seat was in Lincolnshire. About the year 1730, this property was sold to

Mr. John Ware in trust for Coulson Skottowe, Esq.; it was afterwards disposed of piece-meal; the advowson of the vicarage was purchased by the Duke of Bedford; the tithes were for the most part purchased by the proprietors of the several estates; and the House and Park by Charles Lowndes, Esq. The House was a fine old manorial residence; situated at a distance of about three hundred yards to the north of the parish Church, and its site may still be traced. The date of its erection was probably about the year 1500; it was taken down in the early part of the present century. Deer were formerly kept in the park.

Of the mediety of Chesham Woburn, the first notice we have is in *Dugdale's Monasticon*, where it is recorded that the Canons of Dunstable made an exchange with the Abbot and Monks of Woburne for the Vicarage of Chesham: "A.D. 1221. . . Eodem anno, composuimus cum abbate et monachis de Woburne, super vicaria ecclesiæ de Cestreham, ita quod ex toto renunciavimus juri nostro: et abbas et monachi nobis perpetuo conferrent redditum trium marcarum annuatim quod factum est per ordinationem de Bedeford et de Huntedon archidiaconorum." In the year 1291, when all monasteries were taxed or valued by order of Pope Nicholas IV., who granted to Edward 1st for six years the tenths of all Ecclesiastical benefices towards defraying an expedition to the Holy Land, the valuation of Chesham Woburne is contained in two entries, which translated, run thus: "Temporal possessions. Cestreham in lands and rent £1 13s. 6d.; the same in fruit, flocks, and herds 18s. 6d. The Spiritualities; Church of Cestreham the portion of the Abbot of Woburne, deducting pension to the priest, £17 5s. 0d." By the *Inquisitio Nonarum* in the Exchequer of Edward III., taken in the fourteenth and fifteenth year of his reign, it appears that "the valuation of the ninth in this parish by the presentment of John de Brok, William Wodard, William Gerveys, Roger Hykebrid, Stephen Martyn, and Henry le Smyth is 43 marks and no more because it is stated that a fourth part of the arable land in the said parish lies arid and untilled, and it is said that the demesne lands belonging to the same parish, with the rents of assize and divers other profits to the same Church belonging, are worth one year with the other £20, and that there are no merchants

or cattle-dealers dwelling in the foresaid parish." In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, which is a declaration at the first visitation of the Monasteries of their annual value made at the feast of St. Michael in the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII., are several entries relating to Chesham, one of which describes the farm of the Rectory of Chesham Woburn, with the lands and tenements there, so let to John Cheney, Esq., by indenture, as worth £23 per annum. At the second valuation, made in 1543, the rectory of Chesham Woburn was valued at £23 3s. 4d. The rectorial manor of Chesham Woburn, with the advowson of one mediety of the vicarage, was granted Dec. 12, 1553, by Edward VI., to Anne, Countess of Bedford, and Sir Francis Russell, Knt., to hold by fealty only in free soccage, and not in capite. Lord Russell, who was afterwards created Earl of Bedford, disposed of the manor to the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, but retained the advowson of the vicarage; and in the year 1795 sold the great tithes, which were purchased by the respective landlords. The two medieties therefore of the vicarages of Chesham Leicester and Chesham Woburn, being thus in the possession of the Duke of Bedford, were consolidated by Act of Parliament in the year 1767; and each is valued in the King's books at £13 1s. 5½d.

That there were formerly two Churches in Chesham does not admit of a question—one the present Church, and the other Chesham Woburn, which was situated at the back of the Infant School, where the foundations have been discovered; for Edward IV., in the sixth year of his reign, granted to Edward Braymill a garden and one rood of land in West-dean field, lying and being in Chesham Leicester and Woburn, for the maintenance of lights in the Churches of Chesham Leicester and Chesham Woburn.

There are also undoubted evidences of the existence of two vicarage houses—one situated in a garden adjoining the Infant School and near the Church of Chesham Woburn; and the other to the north of the town, about one mile distant, and situated between the roads leading to Bellington and Chesham Vale. The Duke of Bedford being patron of both vicarages, pulled them down and built the present vicarage house.

The Church of Chesham Leicester, which is dedicated to St. Mary, and which was rebuilt by our catholic fore-

fathers, on the site no doubt of an earlier building, remains to this day an incontestible proof that our ancestors laid not one stone upon another without a goodly foundation. The precise date of its erection cannot be ascertained. Judging however from the perpendicular style of the architecture of the nave and chancel, the time of its erection may be ascribed to the end of the fourteenth century. The plan of it is cruciform, having nave, chancel, and transepts intersecting a central tower, which is embattled and bears a spire, with aisles and chapels attached. Over the porch there is a muniment-room or parvise, where the priest lodged, and which is reached by an octagonal stair-turret in the north-west angle, the entrance to which is concealed by wood panneling. The interior of the Church is disfigured by plaster ceilings, cumbrous galleries, and hideous pews, made, as Weaver in his "Funeral Monuments" sarcastically says, "high and easy for the parishioners to sit or sleep in." The east window in the chancel, and a small one on the south side, were filled with stained glass, by William Lowndes, Esq.; the former represents the crucifixion, the resurrection, &c. Another window on the south side of the chancel bears the following inscription:—

"In memoriam Johannis Newton M.R.C.S., natus XXIII January, 1835. Obiit apud Scutari, January XXXI, 1855. Sorores mœrentes posuerunt."

The south transept was formerly a burial place for the family of Cavendish, of Latimer. In it is erected a monument to Sir John Cavendish (a younger son of the first Earl of Devonshire), who died without issue 1618; and also one with an altar-tomb supporting a lofty pyramid erected to the memory of Mary, wife of Sir Francis Whichcote. It is reported that the expenses incurred at the funeral and in erecting this monument were so costly that they almost ruined Sir Francis Whichcote, and led him in 1730 to dispose of the rectorial manor of Chesham Leicester. The procession at the funeral, as it arrived from London, is said to have extended from the entrance of the Churchyard to about 100 yards beyond the Alms-houses by the water side. There is also a curious monument erected on the north side of the chancel, to Richard Woodcock, formerly a Vicar of Chesham, who died in 1623. He is represented in the attitude of preaching,

with a green cushion before him, and wearing a quilled ruff. On a black marble slab below is an inscription in Latin, given in Lipscomb's History, a translation of which will be more generally intelligible—

“Sacred to the memory of Richard Woodcock, sprung from parents of an honest sort, formerly a pupil of Eton School, elected into the Society of King's College, Cambridge, on account of his virtue, skilled in all the ornaments of the languages and polite literature, an honour to his school, a master of preaching or sermons, the subdean of his college, Bachelor of Divinity, a hammer of Hereticks, reverend in his aspect, shining in his life, sharp in his discourse, pious in his example, unwearied in his labour, supreme in Prudence, of this Church the most learned Pastor. He quietly fell asleep in the Lord on the 20th of October, 1623, aged 68 years.”

And then beneath, in the wall itself, are the following quaint lines in English,—

Mark Reader, seest those golden letters shine
Out of a dark ground in the sacred shrine?
Learn hence what pure virtues golden Grace
Bright Letters give, black Fate cannot deface,
Rest then in peace, O happy Richard rest
Death cannot harm the man whom God hath blest!

Several other monuments with their inscriptions, are well worthy of inspection.

Of the property formerly belonging to the Church, the following is an extract from a MS. of the Inventories of Church goods in the Public Record Office:—

Chesham } This Inventory indented made the xvijth of July in the
Magna } Sixth yere of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Edwarde
the Syxt by the grace of God of England, France and Ireland,
King, defender of the faythe and on earth of the Churches of
England and also of Ireland the Supreme hedd, of all the goodes,
plate, Jewells and all other ornaments pertyning to the parishe
Church of Chesham Magna within the Countye of Buckingham;
Between the Ryght Honorable Sir Francis Russell Knight Lord
Russell, Sir Maurice Berekley, Sir Edmonde Peckham, Sir Robert
Drury, Knighte and William Tildesley esquire of th'one parte
Commyssioners emongest others of the saide goods and other the
premysses by vertue of the Kinges Maytie Commyssion to them
directed bering date the xvi daye of Maye in the Sixt yere of the
reigne of our sayd Sovereigne the Kinge Maytie that nowe is, and
Christopher Asshefyld gentelman and Richard Marres gent, and
th' other parte: all whiche goodes plate and Jewells and other
ornaments be commytted to the saffe custodie of the sayd Asshe-
fyld and Marres untill such tyme as the Kinges Maie furthe
pleasure be further knowen.

Imprimis v chalesys with their patens of silver parcell gilt.
Item one silver Senser parcell gilt.
Item a littell pax of silver parcell gilt.
Item a pixe of copper.

- Item a littell box of silver.
- Item ij crosses of copper and gilt with a staffe of the same mettall.
- Item a vestment of white dammaske with ij Tunyckels and a cope somewhat worne.
- Item an olde Redde velvet vestymt with ij Tunyckels and a coope.
- Item an olde vestymt of grene Silke with ij tunyckels and a cope.
- Item an olde vestymt of olde Redde velvett with ij tunyckels and ij redd copes very cowrse.
- Item a blacke cope of Russett Worsted.
- Item iiij pillowes one of Redde velvet, one of Brudges Satten and one of grene silke.
- Item a vestymt of olde bleue velvet with an albe to the same.
- Item a vestymt of Tinsell Satten with an albe to the same worne.
- Item an old Cope of grene Bandelyn.
- Item vj corporas cases.
- Item a blacke vestymt of Russett and Satten of Bruge with an albe.
- Item ij olde vestymts.
- Item vj olde aulter clothes of diaper.
- Item iiij playn lynen aulter clothes.
- Item xij towels goode and bade.
- Item ij aulter clothes of Satten of Bruge.
- Item a vestymt of grene velvet with flowers.
- Item iiij aulter clothes of Branched Tycke.
- Item a white vestymt of Bustyan with an albe.
- Item a bible in English and the Newe Testament with the paraphrases.
- Item a pair of Sencers of latten with a shipp and ij batten basens.
- Item v bells in the stepill.
- Item a crosse clothe and ij banner clothes of silke.
- Item a pair of organes.
- Item a raill cloth.
- Item by estymacion vij hundred pounce Lead occupied about the Church.
- Item the Channell, the Churche with ij iles and the stepill are coveryd with Leade———. Item iiij Candelstickes of latyn and a egle of latyn and iiij litel belles and ij hand bells sold for xxxv S.

By me Richard Marres.

The remains of two other ancient Ecclesiastical Edifices still exist in the Parish, accounts of which have been given by the Rev. W. H. KELKE in his "notices of Desecrated Churches in the County," and have been published by the Society in the "RECORDS;" that of the Grove, vol. i. p. 125, and the chapel at Hundridge, vol. i. p. 126. In confirmation of Mr. KELKE's opinion that the Chapel at the Grove stood to the south of the present buildings, I may add, that an encaustic tile was found on that spot the beginning of the year 1860.

The house now known as Blackwell Hall, between Chesham and Latimer, was probably an old religious house; human bones having been dug up in the garden, as

well as several gold coins. Drawings of men and women, chained to stakes and nailed to crosses, were formerly to be traced on the walls of the kitchen; and the following texts of scripture were inscribed on each side of the fire-place. On the left, "Receive the word of God, wherewith ye may learn to know God; happy are they that hear the word of God." St. Luke xi. 28. On the right, "He that is of God heareth God's words, ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God." John viii. 47. "Why do ye not understand my speech? even because ye cannot abide the hearing of my word." John viii. 43.

The town of Chesham furnished her quota to the noble army of martyrs; a fact of which she may not unjustly be proud. In Fox's acts and monuments is an account of the noble consistency and adherence to the truth even to death of one of them. This was Thomas Harding, an aged father who, in the year 1532, was confined in the Bishop's Prison, called *little-ease*, where he did lie with hunger and pain enough for a certain space, for worshipping solitarily in the woods about Easter Holy-days when the other people went to Church, and because certain books of holy scripture were found under the floor of his house. Being afterwards condemned by John Longford, Bishop of Lincoln, and the charge and oversight of his martyrdom being committed to Rowland Messenger, Vicar of Great Wickham, he was chained to the stake, and "burned to ashes in the Dell going to Botley, at the north end of the town of Chesham." Many others, to whom it is not necessary to make particular allusion, suffered for the truth's sake. Certainly it is an honour and a glory to the town to have had those amongst her children, who in spite of persecution and loss of all things, and in face of death itself, have thus been faithful to the truth, and ready to seal their testimony to it even with their blood.

During the civil wars in the seventeenth century, the Chiltern hills were a stronghold for the Roundhead or Republican forces, and some of them mustered more than once in no small numbers within the town. Among the original papers in the appendix to Seward's Anecdotes is the following letter written from Chesham, and signed by Warwick and John Pym, shewing that the town was for a time the head-quarters of these two leaders.

To our very worthy Friends, the Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Buckingham.

Chesham,

Gentlemen,

We perceeve by your letter to Dr Burgess, that you are in expectation to be set upon by some of the horse commanded by Prince Rupert, and that you mean to stand upon your garde: we shall take the speediest course to releve you with all the horse and dragoons we have here ready; and wee hope my L General Essex will be at St Albans this night, from whence, we doubt not, but more powerful supplies may be employed into these parts. So wee rest.

Your very loving

Frindes,

Warwick.

Jo. Pym.

3 1642,
about 9 a clock.

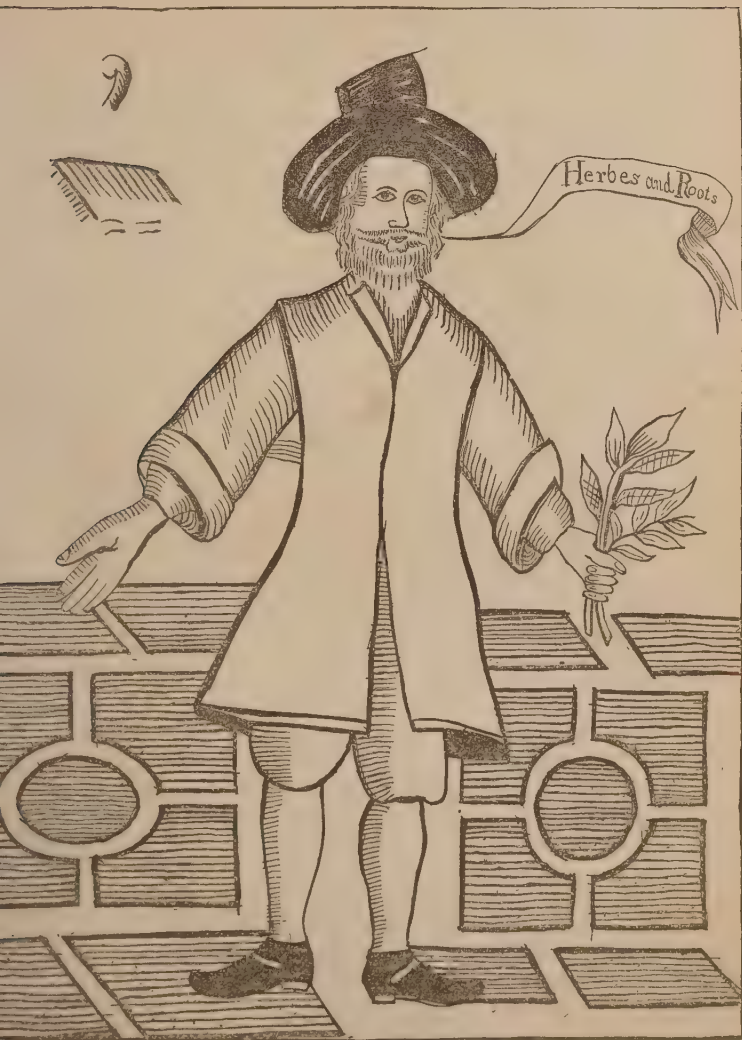
In the following year, when Prince Rupert encamped on the hill at Stone on the 13th of March, for the purpose of attacking Aylesbury, he found the town on the following morning thronged with a powerful force for its defence. Being therefore disappointed in his intention, and pillage being the order of the day, he detached Lord Carnarvon to his right, who entered the town of Wendover, and having plundered it, proceeded towards Chesham, where he met a few of the Parliament's horse, whom he routed and forced back into Missenden. On rejoining Rupert that night, he found him in full retreat towards Brill. Chesham, therefore, on this and every other occasion, escaped attack from the Royalists.

About this eventful period there lived in Chesham an extraordinary character, named Roger Crab, the Chesham Hermit. The account of him is chiefly comprised in the title to his life, afterwards published by himself in 1655, which is reprinted in "Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus," and runs thus—

"The English Hermit, or the Wonder of this Age; being a relation of the life of Roger Crab, living near Uxbridge, taken from his own mouth, shewing his strange, reserved, and unparalleled kind of Life, who counteth it a Sin against his Body and Soul, to eat any sort of Flesh, Fish, or living Creature, or to drink any Wine, Ale, or Beer. He can live with Three Farthings a week. His constant Food is Roots and Herbes; as Cabbage, Turnips, Carrots, Dock-Leaves, and Grass; also Bread and Bran, without Butter or Cheese. His cloathing Sack-Cloth. He left the Army, and kept a shop at Chesham, and hath

ROGER CRAB that feeds on Herbs and Roots is here,
But I believe Diogenes had better Cheer.

Rara avis in terris.



Deep things more I have to tell, but I shall now forbear,
Lest some in wrath against me swell and do my body tear.

now left off that, and sold a considerable estate to give to the Poor; shewing his Reasons from the Scripture: Mark x. 21., Jer. xxxv.—Wherefore if Meat make my Brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, &c. 1 Cor. viii. 18.”

It appears that this ascetic humourist was brought up as a hatter at Chesham, and afterwards joined the Parliamentary army, in which he served for some time. Having retired and returned to Chesham, he resumed his trade, which increased so rapidly, that before he was twenty-six years of age he purchased an estate worth £20 a year, and eventually became one of the richest tradesmen in the town. He paid much attention to religion, applied himself to reading the Scriptures, and both day and night was seen praying either behind his counter or any other place he happened to be in. He formed the resolution of becoming the leader of a sect, and working the salvation of his countrymen, whom he fancied far advanced on the road to perdition. Filled with this resolution, he sold all his property and distributed the proceeds among the poor. He retired to Ickenham near Uxbridge, where with his own hands he built himself a hut. The accompanying curious print is a fac simile of the one published with his life, which makes him appear to be well dressed; but the account given of him is that a sackcloth-frock and a coarse pair of breeches, open at the knees, were all his covering. He published, in addition to his life, a pamphlet called “Dagon’s Downfal, or the Great Idol digged up by the Roots, 1657.” There are also some letters of his in a pamphlet called “A voice from Zion.”

He died in London, and the following memorial of him is preserved in the Church-yard of St. Dunstan, Stepney.

“Here remains all that was mortal of Mr. Roger Crab, who entered into eternity the 11th day of September, 1680, in the 60th year of his age.”

Tread gently, reader, near the dust
Committed to this tombstone’s trust
For while twas flesh it held a guest
With universal love possest,
A soul that stemn’d opinion’s tide
Did over sects in triumph ride
Yet separate from the giddy crowd
And paths tradition had allowed
Thro’ good and ill report he passed
Oft censured yet approved at last.

Would'st thou his religion know }
 In brief twas this; to all to do }
 Just as he would be done unto. }
 So in kind nature's laws he stood }
 A temple undefiled with blood }
 A friend to every thing was good }
 The rest, angels alone can fitly tell
 Haste then to them and him, and so farewell."

In the reign of George II., when the Stuart family endeavoured in vain to regain the throne of these realms, and established more strongly, by their failure, the protestant constitution in Church and State, the Pretender's Son Prince Charles Edward, in 1745, having defeated Sir John Cope, commander of the King's forces at Edinburgh, marched with the rebel troops towards London as far as Derby. The alarm and consternation which prevailed on this occasion was indescribable, insomuch that every town between Derby and London began to prepare for a defence; and Chesham is said to have been barricaded with all the carts and waggons that could be collected in the neighbourhood. This is only a tradition, but it is founded upon good oral testimony, being derived from the son of an old Scotchman who served in the King's army at the time, and who afterwards settled in Chesham.

In the year 1720, the town is described in an old Gazetteer as "consisting mainly of three streets, whereof the chief (the present high street) goeth almost in a direct line from north to south, in the which is the market house. Another street leadeth from this toward the west, past the Church unto the hamlets of Pednor and Hundridge, and to Great Missenden." Within the town and parish are a few ancient domestic edifices of some interest, though none of a very early date; and of these the number is gradually decreasing. Many which were standing within our recollection, with their quaint gables, have disappeared, and others of a more modern style with *more of comfort within perhaps, but certainly with less of the picturesque without*, have risen up in their stead. Among those still standing may be mentioned the "High House," in the Broad Way, and dating back probably as far as the year 1600, or perhaps earlier; the first Mill down the water-side, with its triple broad gables, and the Mill House adjoining, with its equally picturesque stack of chimnies; and several old cottages with overhanging eaves built probably about the year 1650.

In the Broadway the Cage only a few years ago reared its unshapely head, and the Pound and the Stocks adjoined it. They were removed in 1833, when one honest citizen objected to the removal of the cage, for, quoth he, it stops the dust that blows down the town. This spot had formerly been also graced by a pillory.

The residence of W. Lowndes, Esq., called the *Bury*, bears its name of ancient date. The word is derived from the Saxon *burgh*, and signified a stronghold or place of defence into which the inhabitants might retire in times of invasion. The present house was built in the 17th century by William Lowndes, Secretary to the Treasury in the reign of Queen Ann, and for many years Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons. During the excavations in the spring of 1853 for the foundations of a west wing, several skulls and other human remains were exhumed about four feet from the surface: the teeth were in excellent preservation, and the bones evidently denoted men of large stature and proportions.

The Registers in the parish Church date from the year 1538, and are continued, uninterruptedly, down to the present time, with the exception of a brief space in the time of Queen Mary. From them we learn that the yew trees in the Church-yard, of which there are three, were planted in the year 1720; and that the Pest Houses—these remnants of by-gone times when sanitary laws were scarcely dreamt of—were built about the same date for the reception of persons labouring under any infectious disorder, especially the small-pox, which on one or two occasions appears to have raged most fearfully in Chesham, almost decimating the poorer population.

The Alms-houses on the waterside were built in the reign of James I., by Thomas Weedon, Citizen and Draper of London, who was one of the sons of Richard Weedon, of Pednor, within the parish of Chesham, and deceased in September, 1624. Other benefactors to the town must not be forgotten—benefactors, who, from the noblest and purest motives, have left behind them lasting proofs of their desire to provide for the poor and needy, and who deserve such honourable mention as can be given in a brief sketch like the present. The Earl of Devonshire and Elizabeth his Countess, by indenture made 5th of August in the 5th year of King Charles, gave upon

trust thirty-two acres and two roods of land, that the Incumbents of Chesham Woburn and Chesham Leicester and the Churchwardens should receive the rents and distribute them to seven poor and impotent persons. John Gawdrey bequeathed in 1670, the sum of £3 per annum to twelve poor widows and widowers in the water-side, living between his house and the town of Chesham, to be paid on St. John's day. John Cheney, by deed 1555, gave the sum of forty shillings, to the poor of the parish of Chesham, to be paid out of the Mose Farm, in Ashley Green hamlet, and distributed by even portions, viz., 10 shillings at the Nativity of our Lord, the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and St. Michael the Archangel.

The Curfew-bell (from the french *couvre feu*, cover fire) as established by William the Conqueror, was rung at eight o'clock in the evening for the object of having all fires and lights extinguished—a requisite precaution in ancient times. The name and use is still retained at Chesham, where it is rung annually from the first Sunday after new Michaelmas day, until the Saturday evening immediately preceding the 10th of March.

There were three open wells or springs which may be mentioned among the interesting local features of the place. One in Church-street called Bidwell; another at the present entrance to Duck alley, near Town Field Bridge; and a third in the Waterside, of which no traces are now to be seen, but which was once held in high repute; it rose on the left hand side of the road leading to Chenies, about twenty or thirty yards on the west of the present gas-house. There is also a chalybeate spring, similar to the Tunbridge water, on the road to Amersham. In the year 1820, an effort was made to bring it into repute, and add Chesham to the list of watering places, but without success.

The nineteenth century has been marked by a fact which I shall record for the benefit of future generations. Her Majesty Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and suite passed through the town of Chesham, July 25, 1841, on their way from Windsor to Woburn Abbey in Bedfordshire. The Royal party was escorted from Amersham to Chesham Bois Common, by Mr. Cavendish's troop of yeomanry and other gentlemen. As soon as the cavalcade appeared

on the hill above the valley of Chesham, the cannon posted on the opposite hill commenced firing a double royal salute of half-minute guns. At the entrance of the town, her Majesty was received by the Chesham troop of Bucks Hussars, under the command of Captain Fuller; by whom, with a large body of horsemen, she was conducted to Great Berkhamstead. On entering Chesham, her Majesty's carriage slackened speed to a steady walk, at which pace it proceeded through the whole length of the town, and through the four triumphal arches which had been erected in various parts. One of the most imposing and affecting parts of the whole pageant consisted of the Sunday School children, to the number of 850, who had been collected in a long row of waggons in the broadway, and from whom there issued a shout of little voices and a clapping of hands quite overwhelming. Great rejoicings took place in the evening of this memorable day throughout the whole parish; and the hospitality of the Lord of the Manor of Chesham and Latimer, to the party assembled under the large elm tree in the village of Latimer, will be long remembered.

ALL SAINTS, HULCOTT.

This Church has been restored by G. E. Street, Esq., and was re-opened March 22nd, 1863. Its plan consists of nave and chancel, with low priest's door on the north side, south aisle, north porch, and low square wooden bellry turret at the west end, now surmounted by low octagonal broach spire in green slate. The nave and chancel are both Second Pointed: the aisle is Debased, and contains a plain altar tomb with marble slab, the brasses of which have been torn away. There are two piscinas, one in the chancel, the other in the aisle. A hagioscope formerly opened from the aisle, but is now blocked. In removing the plaster from the walls, the entrance to the Rood-loft was discovered built up in the south-east angle of the nave. There are three bells, one of which bears the inscription, "God save the King," with the date 1621; the second has some letters on it; the third is quite plain. The turret is probably of the same date. There is a low side window, square headed, at the north-west end of the chancel, which has been re-opened. The restoration comprises new open timber roofs, and low oak bar-trusses. The chancel is fitted with stall benches, and paved with Milton's tiles: the passages in nave and aisle are laid with Gower's black, buff, and red tiles. The Reredos is stone inlaid with plain circles of Devonshire marble. The pulpit is also stone, semicircular, and pierced with open quatrefoils.

NORTH MARSTON.

THE LEGEND OF MASTER JOHN SHORNE.

“Sir John Shorne
Gentleman born
Conjured the Devil into a boot.”

This Legend about which so much has been written may I think be better explained by an enquiry into the meaning of the ancient phrases used, rather than by any reference to rude paintings or fragments of stained glass. To read it as of a practical occurrence must of course be sheer nonsense, and any relic or representation of Sir John forcing the devil into a boot (a covering for the leg) can only lead to a further misunderstanding of the original meaning.

To conjure may be read to summons in a sacred name; to enjoin with the highest solemnity. “The Church may address her sons in the form St. Paul does the Phillippians, when he *conjures* them to piety.”—‘Decay of piety.’

To conjure, however, may be to practice charms or enchantments; to enchant—

Out! Out! Out! I’ll *conjure* you—I’ll fortunetell you.—*Shakespeare.*

We have our choice in the Legend as to where the accent may be placed.

If we renounce “boot” as a covering for the leg, and read it as “bote” or “boot,” a bargain, we shall be in a better position to unravel the mystery. Bote or boot may be understood as recompence; repentance or fine paid by way of expiation, or to enrich or benefit—

“I’ll give you boot—I’ll give you three for one.”—*Shakespeare.*

We read of booting or boting corn. The tenants of Haddenham Manor, in this County, formerly paid booting—corn to the Prior of Rochester. It is thought to have been so called from being paid by the tenants by way of bote, or boot, viz.—a compensation to the Lord for his granting them leases, &c.

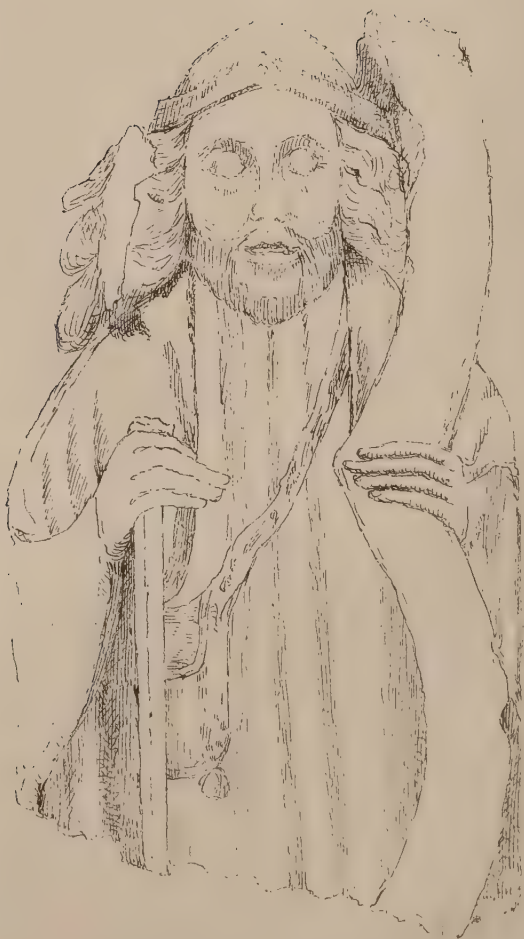
The term “devil” may have been an opprobrious name used towards some personal enemy of Sir John’s, or an oppressor of the Church or parish to which he belonged, or the Legend may have been framed to commemorate a good bargain made by Sir John, or a victory over any opponent.

ROBERT GIBBS,

Aylesbury, Feb. 10th, 1863.



Sculpture in Alabaster found in Stewkley Church.



Sculpture in Alabaster found in Steinkley Church.

STEWKLEY CHURCH,

PAST AND PRESENT.

PAPER READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY BY REV. C. H.
TRAVERS, VICAR OF STEWKLEY.

The village of Stewkley is situated upon the high ground which divides the drainage of the Ousel and the Thames; devoid of objects of general interest to the antiquarian or the geologist, there is one peculiar characteristic which renders the name of Stewkley familiar to all lovers of Ecclesiastical Architecture, possessing as this village does, a Church, the first entitled to notice as Lysons remarks, on account of its antiquity and curiosity, and

“The Rival of Iffley among the most ancient and most perfect Norman structures in England.”

Though sometimes quoted as a *Saxon* building, there is nothing to justify the supposition that the Church is other than a very early Norman building, dating, as far as can be ascertained, towards the close of the Eleventh Century, dedicated to St. Michael—it is certain that in the year 1170, the Church was given to the Priory of Kenilworth by Geoffry de Clinton.

The form of the Church is a parallelogram of four squares—two belonging to the nave, one to the tower, and one to the chancel, each about twenty-one feet long, the nave twenty-one feet six inches in width, the tower and the chancel eighteen feet wide. The tower, which rises from the centre or nearly so of the building, is supported on massive semicircular arches, springing from piers nearly four feet in thickness, having at the angles circular columns with wrought capitals and bases, each capital of different design, channelled, foliated, or fluted. The *west* fronts of these arches are richly carved in beak heads and grotesque figures, with a double chevron bor-

der, the heads or tongues overlapping a bold bead moulding; at the *east* front the arches present only a simple zig-zag moulding.

The *Chancel* has a groined roof, originally all of stone, but the weight of the roof having been supposed to endanger the walls, the stone of the vaultings between the ribs was removed some years since and replaced with brick.

The groins are set diagonally, composed of stones of white and slate colour, in alternate courses, enriched with a deeply cut zig-zag moulding.

At the north side of the Chancel is an oblong recess cut into the wall, four feet five inches in length, sixteen inches high, by eighteen inches in depth, about three feet from the floor level. This is supposed to have been used as an Aumbry.

At the south side is a piscina with a pointed arch, surmounted by a plain arched moulding. In front of this piscina, of which a portion of the drain stone has been cut away, runs a plain bench of rough masonry of equal height throughout its whole length, measuring six feet four inches by one foot four inches, which has formed a *Sedile*. The bench terminates towards the west with a massive stone elbow.

The windows throughout the Church are uniform, about six feet high and two feet three inches in width, splaying inwards to the width of four feet and a half, enriched internally and externally by double rows of chevron moulding. The east window is remarkable for its *external* appearance. Three arches ornamented with a double zig-zag moulding, and supported by circular columns in pairs, form an arcade, the centre compartment alone being pierced and forming the window, which internally corresponds with those in the rest of the building.

A frieze of zig-zag moulding, in blocks of chunk stone, irregularly cut, is carried along the walls both inside and outside the Church, at a height of about eight and a half feet from the ground, turning in semi-circular arches over all the door-ways.

The Tower, which is about fifty-seven feet in height, is characteristic, though presenting in the gothic pinnacles which disfigure the corners symptoms of the love of change, which, irrespective of architectural feature, marked a certain era in history.

Attached to a string course or moulding, are projecting gurgoyles, one at each angle of the tower, and one in the centre of each front, four of them being the symbols of the Four Evangelists. About eighteen inches below this plinth, is a series of semi-circular arches, interlaced and decorated with a zig-zag moulding, resting on short round columns with wrought capitals.

The north door of the nave hitherto blocked up, is ornamented with a double chevron moulding resting on single pillars with sculptured capitals.

The south door of the nave has also a double chevron moulding, surmounted by a thick bead moulding ornamented with a series of "ball flowers," the pillars supporting the arch are in pairs—the capitals richly sculptured. One on the west side representing a cat's head, that on the east side deeply channelled.

The west front entrance is a curious and interesting specimen of Norman work. There are three arches (forming an arcade somewhat similar to that noticed at the east window). The centre arch forms the doorway, and is loftier and wider than the side arches; it is deeply recessed, each arch surmounted by the chevron moulding. The inner recess enriched with a triple row, and resting upon double columns, the inner column at either side being specially wreathed and the capitals sculptured with a dragon, lion, and foliage.

The centre arch is curiously subdivided by a stone, acting as a kind of key-stone and hanging several inches below the arch, the upper portion of this stone is sculptured with figures of dragons beneath vine foliage; between the doorway and the side arches are pilasters about nine inches wide, flanked by single columns with sculptured capitals. Within this entrance is the *Font* formed out of a single block of stone, columnar, splaying out considerably towards the top, and without any enrichment whatever, twenty-six inches in height and thirty in diameter at the top, and about five inches thick.

The Communion Plate consists of a plain chalice of silver, with the name of the Rector John Pilkington, and the Churchwardens Thomas Prentice, Willam Grace, and the date 1671. A silver Patten with this inscription "May it be accepted as the humble Gift of Elizabeth Gurney, for the use of the Sacred Temple of God at Stuckley, 1744."

There are neither monuments, brasses, nor painted glass in the Church.

The earliest register dates 1547, and among the Vicars of Stewkley we find the names,—

Hubert de Constance, presented in 1226, by the Convent of Kenilworth.

Hugh de Cantelupe, instituted 1256, Archdeacon of Gloster and Prebend of York.

Sir William Yardley, instituted 1506, who by will 1545, directed his interment in the Chancel, and gave to the High Alter a Pound of Wax to burn at all convenient times before the Sacrament.

John Fox, 1545, supposed to be the Martyrologist.

Lawrence Roley, 1554, instituted by the first Bishop of Oxford.

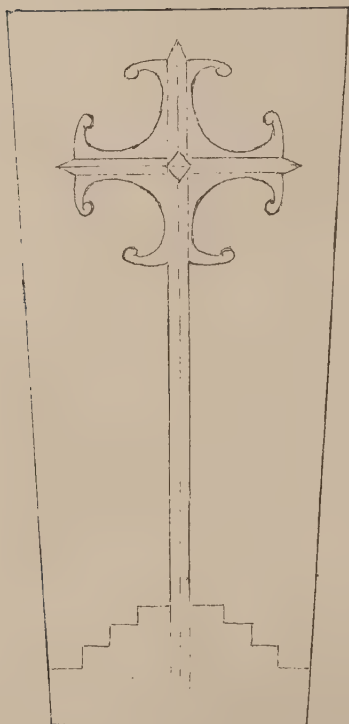
Richard Corbett, 1620, made Bishop of Oxford 1628, and Bishop of Norwich in 1632.

Thomas Potter, 1722, brother of John Bishop of Oxford, 1715—1737.

It may be well here to notice such alterations in the building and its arrangements as can be traced, though in the absence of any authentic accounts, to fix the exact periods of such changes is impossible. Upon the tower are now at each angle pinnacles with a double pointed arch traced on each face of the base, the outer edges being ornamented with crockets with poppy-head finials.

The roofs of both Nave and Chancel were lowered from the original pitch marked by the water-table on the face of the tower. A piece of the old wall plate recently taken down, bore the date 1684, marked in pitch. A Porch of very rude structure has been at some recent date added to the south entrance.

These comprise the external alterations. Internally it appears that until the year 1833, the Church was arranged with open oak benches, in the backs and ends of which were holes and rings through which, tradition says, were passed the halters of the horses belonging to Cromwell's troops, who are said to have converted this Church into a temporary stable. In 1833, these seats were removed and replaced by deal pews. The Font was at this time built up in a square pew, the base completely buried in the floor, and a most unsightly gallery erected at the west end. Until 1833 it appears there was in the tower a



Found buried under the floor of the nave of Stewkley Church.



Tiles found in the Chancel of Stewkley Church.

gallery, partly fitted up with seats and partly acting as a scaffold platform upon which the bell-ringers stood. It was elevated about ten feet from the floor of the Church, extended along the whole north side of the tower, and returning across the eastern archway, completely shut out the Chancel. It had (as I am informed) the date 1621 upon it, and was probably a substitute for the rood loft which evidently existed, from the pointed doorway discovered leading from the tower belfry stairs.

In 1844 the Chancel seems to have been repaired, the stones of the groined roof having been considered too heavy for the walls, and having partly given way at the north east side were removed, leaving the ribs alone remaining, and the vaultings between rebuilt in the same character but with brick. The walls were pinned together with iron rods, and two most unsightly brick buttresses erected at each exterior angle of the Chancel.

Subsequently an altar-rail was placed, a new floor laid, and other manifest improvements took place. Some few alterations were made in 1860, such as the removal of the immense "reading desk" and clerk's desk, the lowering of the pulpit, and removing it out of the tower, the placing of the seats in tower, east and west, &c.

In 1862, a complete restoration of the Church was carried out, under the superintendence of G. E. Street, Esq. The roofs of nave and tower were raised to the original pitch (as marked by the water table on the tower), the stucco removed from east and west walls (it was found impracticable to take it off north and south walls, they being built of rubble). The curious western entrance cleaned of the plaster which concealed its beauty. New buttresses have taken the place of the useless brick structures already mentioned at the angles of the Chancel wall.

During the progress of the works, the figures in alabaster shewn in annexed plate, were discovered buried in the step of a *door-way*, in the west face of the Tower (now opening into the Church above the west Tower arch, but formerly leading out upon the flat roof).

The tiles of which a sketch is given, five in number, were found buried under the Chancel floor, near a small portion of a stone plinth running along the north side for about the length of eight feet.

A stone eight feet six by two feet three and a half, with floriated cross as seen in sketch, was found under the floor by south wall of nave, turned with the cross downwards.

The Church internally has been reseated with suitable open benches, walnut wood pillars being introduced into the oak choir stalls, with good effect.

The chevron and curious beak-head mouldings of the arches, windows, and string courses, have been cleaned and come out in great preservation, relieved of the plaster and successive coats of lime-wash with which they were encased. A massive stone pulpit, new lectern and altar, and reredos in alabaster and marbles, a pavement of encaustic tiles and Portland stone, and an east window (by Clayton and Bell) representing the closing scenes in the life of our Saviour, render this interesting old Church more in accordance with the sacred uses to which it is dedicated, and gratifying to the lover of our ancient historical monuments.

ENGRAVINGS OF STEWKLEY CHURCH.

This fine Norman Church from its wide celebrity and unaltered style of Architecture has been frequently engraved,—

I. In 1784, S. Hooper published a View of the edifice taken from the North West, and described *STYCLE CHURCH, BUCKS.*

II. In 1806, the Messrs. Lysons engraved three plates from their own drawings for *The Magna Britannia*,

1. GROUND PLAN OF THE CHURCH; WITH THE ARCHES AND CAPITALS OF PILLARS AT THE WEST END.

2. CHANCEL OF STEWKLEY CHURCH.

3. SOUTH EAST VIEW OF STEWKLEY CHURCH.

III. In 1807, Two fresh Views appeared in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*.

1. A North West View engraved by B. Howlett, from a Drawing by W. Alexander.

2. A South East View etched by J. Roffe from a Sketch by J. Britton with a Ground Plan, scale 10 feet to the inch.

IV. In 1847, Dr. Lipscombe published a lithographed View of the Chancel, taken from the Nave, and showing the Chancel Arch, Groins of the roof and East window. *History of Buckinghamshire*, vol. iii, page 474.

And besides the foregoing, the Font is engraved in the *Archæologia* vol. x. plate 17; and a general view of the Church in Petit's *Remarks on Architectural Character*. With these engravings in Works easily accessible, it has not been necessary to add further Illustrations to those inserted in the Paper of the Rev. C. H. Travers, Vicar of Stewkley, now printed at the request of the Members of the Society.

[H. R.]

NOTES ON THE FOUNDATION, ENDOWMENT, AND FITTINGS OF
THE CHAUNTRY CHAPEL AT LITTLECOTE IN THE PARISH
OF STEWKLEY, COMPILED MAINLY FROM UNPUBLISHED
CHARTERS, DEEDS, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS BELONGING
TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

BY REV. H. ROUNDELL.

In the year 1266, one Hugh de Donesterre or Dunster and his wife Alice being desirous to found a Chauntry at Littlecote wherein masses should be said for the souls of John Bretach and Richard de Staunton, himself and his wife, their predecessors and successors, conveyed to the Abbot and Monks of Bitlesden in the County of Bucks, his estates in Thornborough in the same County, and a rent charge of five marks yearly which they paid him upon the Manor of Preston Capes in Northamptonshire, upon condition that they should from time to time for ever, appoint and maintain a Chauntry Priest in the Chapel of St. Giles at Littlecote, sustain the fabric in all requisites for the services, discharge all dues chargeable upon the lands, especially a Rent-charge of Forty Shillings a year belonging to the Nuns of Ivinghoe, and make certain specified allowances to himself and his wife Alice, during their joint and separate lives. To effect these objects, several charters and deeds were executed by Hugh and the Abbot of Bitlesden, and the Thornborough estates were duly ratified to the Abbey by William de Bello Campo,* and by John, son of Alan de Wolverton,† then Capital Lords of this Fee in Thornborough. The two Charters of Hugh de Dunster of the conveyance of the Thornborough lands are still extant, having been preserved in Lord Oxford's, now the Harleian, Library. The first is sealed with green wax, with the figure of a woman standing, and is entitled in the unpublished catalogue of the manuscript Rolls of that Library, compiled by Ayseough, (Charter Rolls Index, vol. III.), *Charta Hugonis de Donesterre assensu Alicie uxoris sue Ecclesie de Bytlesden de terris in Torneberge cum piscariis.*‡ It conveys to the monks two carucates of land and a meadow

* *Charter Roll in Brit. Mus.* 84 H. 16.

† *Charter Roll*, 86 F. 61, and 86 F. 61.

‡ *Charter Roll*, 86 c. 39.

in the Holme near Stekeford Mill in Thornborough, to be held by them in frank almoigne in perpetuity upon condition of their regular payment of the rent-charge from these lands due to the Nunnery of Ivinghoe, and their maintaining for ever the Chapel at Littlecote, in all services, dues, customs to which it is liable. Another deed relating to these lands, executed by Hugh de Donesterre, is now lost, but a transcript of it occurs in the Cartulary of Bitlesden Abbey, a folio volume of 361 closely-written sheets, in the Harleian Library, MS. No. 4714. The document is of the nature of an agreement between Hugh de Donesterre, and William, Abbot of Bitlesden (William de Wykham, 1258—1286), and after reciting the grant of two carucates and a meadow and the perpetual obligations attaching to those lands, covenants for and specifies the allowances secured to Hugh de Donesterre and his wife. During their joint lives, they were to receive from the Monks yearly, ten and seven marks at Thornborough, and three Roman measures of corn (*tria miliaria allecta rubei*) at Bitlesden, payable as follows, on the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle four pounds; on the feast of the Purification four pounds and the measures of corn, and on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, sixty-six shillings and eight pence. Should Alice survive her husband, the Monks were bound to pay her ten marks and the three measures of corn, due as follows: on the feast of S. Andrew, forty-six shillings and eight pence; on that of the Purification, the same sum and the measures of corn, and on St. John the Baptist's day, forty-six shillings. If, however, Hugh became the survivor, he should receive twelve marks yearly together with the rent in corn, payable in equal sums of sixty shillings each at the above-named three festivals, and all the corn at that of the Purification. For the security of these allowances, power is given to Hugh and his wife to distrain upon all the goods of the Abbey in Thornborough, where the Monks possessed other property of considerable extent, to the full satisfaction of all arrears and costs.* The terms of the agreement appear to have been faithfully complied with, for in a confirmation of the Thornborough lands given after her husband's death by Alice, then called Alice de Cotele, mention occurs of the reserved dues

* *Harleian MS. No. 4714, folio 338.*

of ten marks and the three Roman measures of corn, which she desired to receive at Lementon (Leamington?) for the remainder of her life.*

The second Charter of Hugh de Donesterre, also sealed with green wax, having the legend, ✠ S HVGONIS DE DVNESTOR, and described under the same heading with the preceding in Ayscough's Catalogue, conveyed to the Abbey another farm of twenty acres in Thornborough. To these lands, the situation of which is specified at length in the Grant, was attached the condition of maintaining the Chauntry Priest, and discharge of the dues payable from the Chapel. The Priest should receive annually three quarters of corn, to be paid to him at Thornborough, namely, one quarter of wheat, one of barley, and one of oats, and a jar of oil, together with offerings throughout the year sufficing for all charges, and for all services, court dues, debts, customs and claims, (*oblata per circulum anni sufficiencia pro omnibus et serviciis sectis curiæ et curiarum debitis consuetudinibus et demandis.*)†

The Rent-charge of five marks of silver paid by the Monks of Bitlesden, from their Manor of Preston Capes in Northamptonshire, had been originally secured to himself and heirs, by Ralph son of William de Chenduit, upon his grant to them of that Manor, in the earlier part of the 13th century.‡ The FINE ROLLS, co. BUCKS, shew that in 1254, Hugh de Dunster and his wife Alice purchased a Rent-charge at Preston, from Stephen de Chenduit,§ and although the annual amount is not specified in the catalogue of these Fines, but could be ascertained if necessary by reference to the original documents, there can be no reasonable doubt of its being that Rent-charge fixed on Preston Manor by Ralph de Chenduit. For at the time of his grants to Bitlesden, about ten years after his purchase from Stephen de Chenduit, Hugh de Donesterre is found seized of a Rent-charge of five marks yearly paid him by the Abbot and Monks of Bitlesden from Preston Manor, and this he transferred to the Endowment of Littlecote, releasing the Monks from all further payment of it to himself and heirs, but binding them to pay in perpetuity, a sum of five marks yearly to his Chauntry Priest.||

* Harleian MS. No. 4714, folio 108.

† Charter Roll, 85 C 41.

‡ Harleian MS. No. 4714, folio 102.

§ FINES, co. BUCKS; A.D. 38 HEN. III. Addit. MSS. No. 21,267, folio 54.

|| Harleian MS. No. 4714, folio 339.

The terms upon which the Abbot and Monks of Bitlesden, as far as they were concerned, undertook the charge of the Chapel of Littlecote, are embodied in a deed which may be called that of the "Endowment of Littlecote Chauntry." It is entitled in the Chartulary *Scriptū cantarie capelle de littlecote*, and in it the Abbot of Bitlesden binds "himself and his successors for ever, to provide and "maintain one sufficient honest and faithful Capellane "every year and every day for ever to celebrate Divine "Service in the Chapel of St. Giles for the souls of John "Bretache and others named, and for all the faithful "dead, together with the office for the departed, that is to "say, the offering of the 'COMMENDATION,' the 'PLACEBO,' "and the 'DIRIGE' at the Canonical Hours according to "the season."*†

Then follows the provision for the maintenance of the Priest, as already detailed in the extracts from Dunsten's grants, and the Deed proceeds to declare that "if at any "time the Capellane should become delinquent as a "notorious evil-doer, or be incompetent to his duty, "the Abbot, upon the complaint of Hugh, his heirs or "successors, will remove him at the end of the year in "which he has transgressed, and replace him by another "competent Capellane. And in the event of the death "of the Capellane, the Abbot will appoint a secular or "ordained Capellane, *capellandum, secularem vel religiosum* "to perform service in the said Chapel to the end of the "year." Then occurs a clause reciting the release of Hugh de Donesterre to the Monks of their Rent-charge from the Preston Manor, and his Confirmation to them of twenty acres in Thornborough, stating also these agreements to have been ratified in the King's Court (probably before the Justices Itinerant), and the deed concludes with a covenant on the part of the Abbot to the effect, that if at any time the stipulated allowances should be withheld from the Capellane, then notwithstanding any privileges granted to the Cistercian order by the Pope, the Archdeacon of Buckingham in the first instance on the complaint of

* *Harleian MS. No. 4714, folio 341.*

† The Vespers for the Dead were sometimes distinguished as the *Placebo*, the *Dirige*, etc., from the word with which the Antiphonar commenced, as for example, the Canticles at Morning and Evening Prayer are now denominated the *Te Deum*, *Magnificat*, etc.

Hugh de Dunster and his heirs, and, if he be remiss, then the Bishop of Lincoln, and after him the Archbishop of Canterbury, may intervene in behalf of the Capellane.*

In addition to these Benefactions held in Trust and administered by the Abbey of Bitlesden, Hugh de Dones-terre gave a further endowment to the Chauntry: he had in 1248, as appears from the Fines,† become possessed of lands and a mill in Littlecote in the Parish of Stivecle, by purchase from Robert le Lovereng, and out of the estate thus acquired, as it is probable, a provision of a residence and glebe at Littlecote added by the founder to his other endowments of the Chauntry, may have been effected. The house at Littlecote assigned to the Chauntry Priest is described as "that messuage with its yard, " situated near the Chapel which is surrounded and " enclosed with walls," and the deed of conveyance permits the Capellanes, present and future, "to raise, repair, " and rebuild the walls, as often as they require it." Three acres of arable land and their appurtenances in Littlecote field were also conveyed to the Chauntry, and are described as "one half acre situated in the West Field " upon Micheldon between the land of Peter Mancell and " William le Frankelaine; and one half acre is situated " in the same Field opposite the Cnolle (Knowl) between " the lands of the said Peter and William; and one half " acre in the same Field upon Brerehull (Bare hill), be- " tween the lands of the said Peter and William; and in " the East Field one half acre abutting on the Wadiche, " between the lands of Aylmer de Aspreuill and Peter " Fitz-Stephen; and one half acre in the same Field upon " Long Widemore, between the lands of Peter Mancell " and William le Frankelaine; and half an acre in the " same Field in the Brockfurlong, between the lands of " the said Peter and William, all to be held by Hugh de " Bathon, and all successive Capellanes being nominated " by the Abbot of Bitlesden to perform mass in the Chapel " of St. Giles."‡

(to be continued.)

* *Harleian MS. No. 4714, folio 339 b.*

† *FINES, CO. BUCKS; A.D. 32 HEN. III. Addit. MSS. No. 21,267, folio 48.*

‡ *Harleian MS. No. 4714, folio 340.*

THE PARISH OF WING.

BY REV. P. T. OUVRY.

The ancient Parish of Wing contains the town or village of Wing and the Hamlets of Ascot, Burcot, and Crafton; there was formerly a hamlet called Cotteslow, which gives the name to the hundred, but it is now only represented by the house of a farm belonging to the University of Oxford, and forming the endowment of the Bampton Lectureship. There is also a modern Hamlet between Wing and Burcot called Littleworth.

The county histories supply the information from Domesday Book and other sources concerning the several owners of the manors and lands, I propose only to mention in this paper, particulars of general interest.

Wing seems to have been a place of some importance in former days. In the year 1255 a Charter was granted to Peter de Warren by King Henry the Third, for a market every week on Thursday, and for a fair for three days at Michaelmas.

At the time of the compilation of Domesday Book, the manor of Wing was held by the Earl of Morton. In the year 1140 it was given by the Empress Maude to the Abbey of St. Nicolas at Angiers, which convent settled a cell of Benedictine Monks at Ascot.

At the dissolution of alien priories, this cell and manor was granted A. D. 1416 by Henry the Fifth to the Priory of St. Mary de la Pre, near St. Albans.

On the dissolution of the Monasteries, Henry the Eighth gave it to Cardinal Wolsey, and on his disgrace to Sir Robert Dormer, in whose family it remained till A. D. 1709, when on the death of Charles Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon, it came to his son-in-law Philip Earl of Chesterfield.

The Dormers built a house at Ascot, which was their principal residence.

In the time of Charles the First the Earl of Carnarvon added to this house a noble apartment from the plans of

Inigo Jones. This apartment was never quite finished. Since 1720 this mansion fell into decay, through the neglect of the then owner Sir William Stanhope, who about 1727 cut down the timber in the park.

In the time of Charles Dormer Earl of Carnarvon, liberal hospitality was kept up, and the bowling-green, which may still be traced in the park, was much resorted to.

The timber cut down in 1727 was very fine, and some of it was used in the construction of Fenny Stratford Chapel. The park was also well stocked with deer, some of which were occasionally turned out to be hunted in the country round about.

The manor and greater part of the land in the parish of Wing now belong to Lord Overstone. There are in the parish, two mounds marked tumuli in the Ordnance Map. The largest stands near the village on the Vicarage Farm: the smaller is at Ascot Green on the Leighton Road. The larger one is commonly called the Castle Hill, why, I cannot discover. Browne Willis says that the Church of Wing, which is very fine, seems to have been erected in 1420. G. G. Scott, Esq., who thoroughly restored it in the year 1850, says that it contains remains of Saxon work. He notices the semi-circular arcades or rather arched perforations in the walls, having plain masses of wall between them without capitals, but with a kind of impost on the sides facing the openings, formed by courses of brick overhanging one another. The chancel arch, he adds, is also semi-circular, but the arch is relieved by a projecting archivault,—a practice I do not recollect seeing in any Norman building, though very usual in work of supposed Saxon date. Other indications are also mentioned in his letter, which is printed vol. I. page 37 of the “Records of Buckinghamshire.”

The Church is remarkable for its apsidal polygonal chancel, raised high above the nave and having a crypt underneath about eight feet in height from floor to ceiling, divided into three partitions, and once entered by steps from the nave; it is now, however, filled with earth and the entrance closed.

In the Church there is a handsome marble monument to Mrs. Margaret Fynes, said to be the work of Roubiliac. There are also four elaborate tombs of the Dormer family,

one formerly in the chancel, but now moved into the body of the Church, is to the memory of Anna Sophia Dormer, youngest daughter of Charles Earl of Carnarvon, who died of small pox February 2nd, 164⁵, in the 22nd year of her age. There are also the monuments of—

Sir Robert Dormer, who died in 1552,

Sir William Dormer his son 1575,

Sir Robert Dormer his son.

There is a curious brass in the south aisle on the floor, with some quaint verses to the memory of Thomas Cotes, porter of Ascot Hall, placed there by his friend George Hoghton, 1648.

Round the tomb of the elder Sir Robert Dormer, before the Church was repaired, were two large ancient pews with rails and balusters at the top, round which were these verses written in ancient characters.—

The Living God commanded us all, before we doe come here,
 For the bread of life to call, that our souls may live ever,
 Good souls are heaved to heaven by Salvation
 Evill souls are ploughed with Hellys damnation,
 Trust not the world, nor worldly prosperity
 Seek rather the sweetness of heavenly felicity
 Love true dealing; fly from subtilty
 Worship God, hate all cruelty
 To save thy soul seek nether for to dye
 Thou saving life to lose thy soul thereby.
 Now that you mean to depart out of this holy place
 Remember God, forgett him not, but daily call for grace
 Before thou any farther goe,
 Remember what thou hast to doe
 For the Lord commands all,
 By Prayer on his name to call
 Adorn thyself with all good things:
 Since that from God all goodness springs,
 Tho' God for him sometymes gives pain
 Yet God by sute, gives grace again
 O what a loving Lord is He that hath such care ovr' us all:
 When wee were bound, He made us free from death, by Adams fall.

But this, with all the enclosed pews, was cleared away in 1850, and the original low oak seats uncovered and restored uniformly throughout the Church.

In the list of the Vicars of Wing is the celebrated Dr. William Dodd, who was executed for forging the name of his Patron the Earl of Chesterfield. There is a tradition in the village that he was taken into custody at the Cock Inn, but I find it stated in the contemporary accounts that he was certainly taken in London. Though Vicar

of Wing at the time, he never lived in Wing. An old inhabitant related to me that he had often heard his father speak of Dr. Dodd, who preached only four sermons in Wing Church, and that the text of his last sermon, which must have been preached not long before his unhappy end, was from Deut. xxviii, 65—67. "And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest: but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind: and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee: and thou shalt fear day and night, and shall have none assurance of thy life: in the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart wherewith thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see."

The Register begins 1546, and is complete without any breaks. There is also an ancient book of the Churchwardens' accounts, containing many curious entries. It begins in the year 1527 with a list of the Church Furniture and ornaments at that date, and continues till the year 1723. When I came to Wing in 1850, I found this book without its covers and in a very dilapidated condition in an old chest in the Church. I asked the Churchwardens to have it restored, and they sent it to the British Museum Book-binder, who refixed the covers, smoothed, repaired and sized the leaves, and made it the sound and goodly volume which it now appears. It is quite perfect.

There was also at Burcot in 1764 a good house which was purchased by Mr. Fines of Lord Limerick. The family of Fines or Fienes were in some way connected with the Dormer family. One is stated to have been deputy manager of Wing Park. Mr. Fines who purchased Burcot House was a jeweller in London. Mr. Cole and Mr. Fynes Clinton had land in this and the neighbouring parish of Linslade.

The parish lies on that raised series of clays, gravel, and sand which forms the green sand formation. There are outlying portions of the Portland stone and Kimmeridge clay. A bed of this latter has lately been dug into for brick-making. The surface is a rich bed of iron sand, then about six feet of blue clay, then a thin bed of rubbly stone, underneath which is the dark blue Kimmeridge

clay. In this clay, some of the vertebræ of a large saurian reptile have been lately found, one of which, in a very perfect state, has been deposited in the museum of geology in Jermyn-street. The village is on the top of a high platform, and the streams on different sides flow in contrary directions. Some go towards Aylesbury, join the Thame and the Thames; others flow into the Ouzel and Ouze, and find their way to the east coast.

The soil is various from stiff clay to fine light loam. The land is well cultivated, and every encouragement is given to substantial improvement by the present proprietor.

There is a hospital for the maintenance of aged persons in this village, founded by Lady Dormer, and an excellent School built by the Lord of the Manor, in the place of the former very insufficient building, at which all the children of the inhabitants may receive an excellent education.

Wing, August 6th, 1862.

DINTON CHURCH.

Horace Marryat, in his "One Year in Sweden," VOL. I. page 45, published in 1862, says that "A.D. 1072, the English Bishop Egino founded the Cathedral Church of St. Lawrence, at Lund, employing the Anglo-Saxon Architect Donatus, who built it after the model of Dinton Church in Buckinghamshire." And in a note at the end of the chapter he adds, "since the Author's return to England, he ran down to visit the Church of Dinton, near Aylesbury, which, although rebuilt at a later date, still retains one round-arched doorway of great beauty, similar in style to those of Lund Cathedral, in which are introduced the chevron, billet, cable, and heart mouldings. On a carved frieze, beneath the tympanum, the dragon of Paganism, about to swallow up the world (under the figure of an apple), is stopped by a death-like harpy bearing the cross—an allegory often found on Runic stones of the first Christian period. On the tympanum, appear two apocalyptic monsters with trinitarian (trefoiled) tails,—endeavouring to bite an apple from a tree,—of the same breed as those found so liberally scattered through the Cathedral of Lund."

[C. L.]

THE FOLLOWING EXTRACTS ARE TAKEN FROM A MANUSCRIPT
IN THE POSSESSION OF F. D. HIBBERT, ESQ., OF CHALFONT
HOUSE, GERRARD'S CROSS, INTITULED,

JOHN SANDERS, HIS BOOK, 1712.

THE ACCOUNT OF MY TRAVILS WITH MY MISTRESS.*

Aug^t ye 1. She went in y^e Alsebury coach, and I on y^e outside, we din'd at y^e Crown at Uxbridg, & went that night to S^r Richard Holford's† house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, whar we ware welcomely receivd, but found my Lady in awful condision. we stayed thare til y^e 11 of August, then my M^{rs} went with S^r Rich^d & Lady in their coach, and I on y^e outside for Avebury, we sat out on Tuesday, & din'd that day at M^r Bolding's, at y^e Crown at Slow one mile from Winsor, I saw y^e Castle as I past y^e road. I lay that night at y^e Bare, at Reading, which is a large town, and four Churches in it, it is a good place for trade, y^e river of Thames come to it, it is miles from Slow.

Y^e 12 we din'd at M^r Phillips at y^e Bare in Spinumlands, in Nuberry parrish, whare was y^e great fight in y^e sivil wars, four noble Dukes thare killed and caried into that very house whare I dined, it is miles from Reading. As I first neare Nuberry I see y^e feilds whare many brave English men weare killed, & much blood was spilt thare. We lay that night at M^r Shropshiers at y^e Angel in Malbourrow, it is a pretty Town, and a good market, 5 miles from Avebery. Thursday y^e 13 about 10, we came to S^r Rich. Holford's house in Avebery, it is a noble larg antient seat, built with whit larg stone, it did belong to Lord Stoil, y^e late noble Lord Stoil‡ was born thare, and our Queen Anne dined thare. Avebery is compased about with a wall ditch, which was thrown up in wars they say 1000 years before Christ, thare is two large stons as ye enter y^e Town, which they call gates,

* Sarah, youngest daughter of Samuel Trotman, Esq., of Siston Court. Gloucestershire, and Bucknell, Oxon, who died 1684, wife of the Rev. Dr. Hickes, Rector of Whimble, Dorsetshire.

† Sir Richard Holford, married Susannah, third daughter of the above Samuel Trotman.

‡ John, second Lord Stawel of Somerton.

there is many larg stons standing up as big as those at Stone edge. One Sunday a coblar was mending of shoos under one of these great stons, y^e minute he rose y^e ston fell down, and broke in pices on y^e very ground whare he sat, which made him see y^e great providence of God in preserueing him alive, and so deter him from braking y^e Sabbeth, for w^h reason he never worked more on y^e Sabbeth day. Thare lies thick on y^e downs many larg stons w^h they call gray wathers. About half a mile from Avebery is a round steepe green hill, under it is said a King fell, being killed in a dredfull bloody fight on those downs was buried thare, and his men threwe up y^e ground on his grave so high as made this hill for a monument to keep his memory.

Aug y^e 22 Jac Rose rid before my M^{rs} and I caried her portemantow on Sir Rich : punch nag, we rid by Alcannons, that is 5 miles from Avebery and through y^e Vicese Green w^h is one mile from Alcannons, through Pottorn, it is one mile from y^e Vicese Tuft. At Pottorn Towns end we see a hare cross y^e road before my horse as we ware riding to y^e 5 lanes, in y^e next lane that turned towards Worton we came to a great depe myer a crosse y^e lane, we had no way to ride by, so was forced to pass through it, my M^{rs} got safe through it by God's great mercy, though with great difficulty to y^e horse, and dainger to herself, I rid through after, but my horse flundered so very much that his tackel broke, and downe came y^e portmantow, and I had a very daingous fall, but God preserved me that I had no hurt. then we rid through Worton, whare I met with a very sevil man w^h put my tackle to rites. Worton is 1 mile from Pottorn, next we rid through Masson, it is one mile from Worton. Y^e next town we rid through was Coultson, one mile from Masson. then to Tinhead is one mile. we came to Tinheags Court about 12, to M^{rs} Wadman,* whom I did hartily long to see, she rec'd us cherfully. and with a harty welcom. She has a goodly look tho undar a long confinement to her chamber by y^e goutte.

Aug y^e 31. M^r Justis Wadman fecht my M^{rs} in his coach and I on y^e outside to his house in Imber. Sunday we went to Church thare, in y^e which is two noble antient

* Hannah, Second daughter of the above Samuel Trotman, and wife of Robert Wadman, Esq., of Imber, co. Wilts.

monuments lying cross legged like Knights Templers, under each is a stone sepulchre with y^e bones of a body in each of them. We ware nobly entartained by M^r Justis Wadman, and on Munday returned in his coach to Tinheads Court.

On Tusday y^e 23 of September I waited on my M^{rs} to Imber on y^e Down, and returned at night. On Friday I was at Edington Church, whar I see M^{rs} Hannah Wadman's Grave with this inscription writ undar her cotte of arms on her grave stone.

hear lyeth y^e body of M^{rs} Hannah Wadman, y^e daughter of Robart Wadman of Imber, Esq^r, by Hannah his wife, who was y^e daughter of Samuel Trotman of Bucnell in y^e County of Oxon Esq^r, she had y^e misfortuen to break one of y^e panbones of her knees, and to dislocate y^e other, which caused her to undergo both a long and a tedious confinement, and also to endure much pain and misery; wharfore when it should please God to release her, she being full of hope and trust in his mercy desired that the verse following might be engraved mpon her Tombstone; viz, thou shalt make me to hear of joy and gladness, that the bones which thou hast broaken may rejoyce. Psalm y^e 51. ye 8 verse. She dyed on y^e 9th day of December 1709 in y^e 30th year of her age.

On friday y^e 26 of September we went from Tinhead with y^e Salsbryy Coach to Bath, whare Esquier Trotman's horses and man met us and brought us y^e same night to Siston Court, about 9 a clock. Esq^r Trotman's house thare is a very large hansom stately great seat, fitt for a noble man to reside in. Queen Ann, ye wife of King Jeames y^e first was entertained and lodged thare, one of y^e Chambers is still called y^e Queens Chamber. It is adorned with a very large bowling green, pleasant walks, and butifull gardens. Y^e house is well furnished and adorned with a bundance of pictures, sum of them very valuble, but that which plesed me best was y^e noble house-keeping, we ware so luckey on y^e 26 of September to come in in y^e nick, as half a dozen gentilmen ware carring supper into y^e parlar, they ushard my M^{rs} into y^e parlar, whare she found a great deal of good company and many kind freinds and relations, thar was y^e honourd y^e Lady

Drake,* y^e honourd and very rich Lady Read† with her two eldest daughters who are fine Ladys and vast fortunes and heirss, and y^e worshipfull M^r Dashwood‡ who is thought will soone marry y^e eldest M^{rs} Read, he is y^e eldest son of Sir Robart Dashwood of Norbrook he has a vast estate. Thare was like wise y^e Lady Holford and Esq^r Trotman's daughter,§ and Esquier Samuel Trotman|| of Bucknell, and as soon as Esq^r Trotman of Siston heard my Misstress was thar, he came into y^e paller, they ware all very glad to see my Misstress among them and made her exstrordinary welcom. For my part I was conducted by y^e Servants into their hall, and I suped with them, about 40 of us, our tables ware plentifull covered, and all y^e Servants ware very kind, and took a great deale of care of me, and I lived in great plenty every day thare was a noble large ox killed, beside muton and lam and pigs, and of all sorts of fowls both tame and wilde, with these the slaughter-house and wet larder were plentifully furnisshed, beside red dear and fat dow, and a bundance of sort of fish from sea and freshwater, and of all these I had my shear. On Sunday thare went 6 coach fulls of gentry to Church out of this famely, besides 30 or mo Servants on foot. On y^e 4th of October M^r Edwerd Trotman** came to Siston from Bucknell, on Thursday y^e 9 of y^e same instant M^{rs} Trotman of Bucnell came to Siston.

On Thursday y^e 16 of October 1712 I had the Honour to see M^{rs} Dorothea, y^e only cheild of Esq^r Trotman of Siston married to Samuel Trotman Esq^r, the eldest Son of Lenthall Trotman Esq^r of Bucnell, they ware married by

* Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Chief Baron Montague, widow of Sir William Drake, of Shardeloes, and second wife of Samuel Trotman, of Siston, (eldest son of the above Samuel Trotman) and consequently step-mother to the bride.

† Widow of Sir James Read of Brockett Hall, Herts, Bart.

‡ He *did* marry Dorothea daughter and co-heiress of Sir J. Read, Bart. He died in his father's life-time, at Paris in 1728, his son James succeeded as second Baronet in 1734.

§ The Bride, daughter and heiress of Samuel Trotman of Siston Court, by his first wife Dorothy, daughter of Robert Dring of Isleworth, Esq.

|| The Bridegroom, eldest son and heir of Lenthall Trotman of Bucknell, who died 1691, by Mary, daughter of Thomas Philips, of Ickford, co. Bucks, Esq. Lenthall Trotman was second son of the first named Samuel Trotman, and uncle to the bride.

** Third son of Lenthall Trotman of Bucknell. He married Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Filmer of Amwell Bury, co. Herts, Esq., by Susannah, sister and co-heiress of Lawrence Fiennes, Fifth Viscount Saye and Sele. His son Fiennes Trotman, who died in 1782 S. P., eventually inherited the properties of Siston Court and Bucknell, and was succeeded by his nephew, Fiennes Trotman, father of the late Fiennes Trotman, Esq.

Reverrend Mr Jonathan Loveingham rector of that Church. The 2 M^{rs} Reads were bride maids, Mr Dashwood, Mr Edward Trotman were bride men. Esq^r Trotman the bride's father gave her in marriadg, and y^e bridegroom endowed her with a very rich large gold purs full of gold of several quines. there ware 8 coach fulls of near relations went out of this family to Church at y^e weding, Lady Read Lady Holford and my Mistress rod in y^e first coach, they three being the bride's own Aunts, in the next coach rod Esq^r Trotman of Siston, Lady Drake and M^{rs} Trotman of bucknell, thay being parants to the bridegroom and bride. in the next coach the Bride and her maids, in the next the Bridegroom and his men, the other 4 brought the rest of y^e company except the foot Servants. the Sollemnity at Church being over, all returned in the same manner as they went.

As the Bride and Bridegroom entered the hall door, 4 gentilmen held a larg damesk cloth over the Bride and Bridegroom's head whilst there was a noble large cake broak over their heeds, a set of musissiners being placed in a gallarri over the great stayers welcomed the bride and bridegroom home in the best manner they could, and played up the dinner, which was very splended and great, so much to be partickularly named. there was 24 dishes on the Table at the first course besides y^e pasty venision and roast beafe on the side board, besides y^e changes of fish in the plase of crawfish soup, and red dear in the plase of rich soupe at the lower end. The second course had the same number of dishes as the first, containing great rarities all costly drest. The third course had three large perimids of the finest and best sorts of dride swetmeats, and besides them 16 large chainy dishes of wet swetmeats and gellys and fruits and other things which made y^e desart as noble as y^e dinner. which beeing ended the hall was soon filled with dancers and the pallcar with several sets of card players, al made up out of our own famely, no naibours being there that day, it being called a private weding. Supper time being come the other devirtions were laide a side to go to that which was as good as the dinner and 2 rich sackposets in noble large silver basans and a riche large bride cake garnished on the top with fine dried sweetmeats stuck very thick on it.

All the family were presented with favours from the bride, and I had the honour to have one among the rest.

We concluded the evening with danceing and card plying, ringing of bells and drinking helth and joy to the bride and bridegroom. thus ended the weding day.

On friday the 17. in the morning every chamber window ware surranaded with musick to call us all up. Some of the naibouring gentry came in to joyn in joy and feasting and danceing and carde playing, which passed that day away. M^{rs} Wadman likewise sent a mesenger to congratulate the happy nuptuals, the musick playing us all to sleep.

On Saturday the 18. the musick againe waking us, we got up and spent the day in feasting and jollity. the poor labourars feasted that day with us, which made up our numbar at dinner of 115. besides 50 poore served at y^e door, we ware mery and jovyal, some at cards, others danceing, I made one of them, when quite tierd with that we went to bed. all being surfited with the noys of musick night and day, the musissions ware then Discharged.

On Sunday the 19 the forane man cook who had been hear to assist Lady Drake's cook the three grand festifal days returned home. On the same day our useual numbour went to Church, that is 6 coachfulls of gentry besides a great number of Servants on foot. M^r Thomas Loveinghame preached a weding Sermon to us, his text was in the 5 Chapter of proverbs and the 18 & 19 verses. Several naibouring gentry came in to dine, two great tabells full in y^e Servants' hall.

October the 20 on Monday the rich Lady Read, her two rich daughters and M^r Dashwood went from Siston, they went in the Honourd Lady Drake's coach and 6 horses, then in the Lady Read's mourning coach and her 4 horses with two of Lady Drake's aded to them went the Lady Read's waiting gentilwomen, they all went to Sir Robart Dashwood's house in Norbrooke, and as they went up Hinton hill, the Lady Read's mourning coach being infirm, the perch broke, the gentilwomen had been left in the dirt, but they sent to Badminton to the Duke of Buford for his calash, and so got well to Siseter by 9 a clocke at night. Sir Allexsandr Comens dined hear that day.

On Tuesday 21. many more contry gentry came in to diner, the dromers came also, to sallute the bride and bridegroom with their sound.

A LETTER

OF SIR JOHN CULPEPER TO PRINCE RUPERT, INFORMING HIM OF
THE STATE OF THE GARRISON OF AYLESBURY,
DATED AT OXFORD, MARCH 19, 1642.

COMMUNICATED BY REV. F. G. LEE, F.S.A.

S^r,—According to the intimation I received from your Highnesse I sent severall spyes into Aylesbury; the one of them brought me hither the last night at 10 of the clock this paper enclosed, wch was sent from a very good hand in the towne yesterday at 11 in the morninge. If the tawny regiment should be in the towne I presume the businesse will be full of difficulty: if y^r forces should fall uppon them in their march or [.] probably both the workes (the breakinge of them, and the reducing of the towne) will be easy. But y^s Highness will best judge of these particulars neare the place. I shall only presume to offer to y^u that if you looke upon the towne, a generall offer of a pardon both to officers, soldiers & Burgers, with the promise to the one of the continuance of their enter-tamnt (uppon security of their loyalty by takinge the protestation) and to the other of security from plunderinge (uppon fitt expression of their affections by a summe of money) may much advance the worke in hand, by freeinge them from depaire and dividinge them amongst themselves. I wholly submitt these notions to y^r Highnesse wisdom, beinge most faithfully

Your Highnesses most humble and obliged Servnt
Oxford 19th March
1642.

John Culpeper.

10 in the morninge.

I have sent a copie of this note to the goven^r at Brill. Y^r designe was publicly talked of here yesterday morninge.

Endorsed "For Prince Rupert, His Highnes"
"humbly present these."

The information given in this Letter probably determined Prince Rupert to march on Aylesbury. He quartered his troops near Aylesbury on Monday night, March

20, 1643, and advanced towards the town on Tuesday, but retired in the evening, no engagement having taken place. This expedition must not be confounded with the "Battle of Holman's Bridge," near Aylesbury, fought on the first of November, 1642, and narrated by Archdeacon Bickersteth in *A Brief Historical Sketch of Aylesbury*, RECORDS, VOL. II, PAGE 260. Nor with that affair, commonly known as "The Plot to betray Aylesbury," which occurred ten months later, *i. e.* in January, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$. A Narrative however of Rupert's appearance before Aylesbury on the 20th of March, 1643, shewing that he intended a reconnaissance rather than a direct attack, and, led by the information contained in Culpeper's letter, possibly expected the easy surrender of the town to him, was printed in *The Perfect Diurnal*, a Parliamentary Newspaper, of the date of March 27, 1643. It is as follows:—

"The certaine relation of the buisinesse at Alesbury was this day, (March 23) fully informed to the House of Commons by letters from Colonell *Goodwin*, and the other chiefe Commanders there to this effect. Sir, wee hold it convenient to give you a true relation of the passages concerning the Kings forces, and their appearing against the Towne. On Saturday last they marched from Oxford and those parts, and on Sunday the greatest part of them came to Thame: on Munday all their forces were drawn neere to this Towne, within one mile or two miles of the place, and shewed as if they would have fallen upon us that day, but they spent that day in viewing of the Town, where to make their best assault, and interposing betwixt us and the Chiltein parts of our Countrey, to hinder their assistance of us, where we had severall skirmishes without any losse; The Earle of Carnarvan commanded a great body of horse, and marched all Sunday night to Wendover, where he hoped to have taken one of our Troops of horse, which we had drawne thence some few hours before, but they plundered that Town, and the adjacent Towns, and committed many outrages besides as we are informed. On Munday night the whole forces quartered within a mile or two of this town, and the next morning their horse drew towards us, almost within Cannon-shot, and we expected every hour when they would fall upon the Town, and our horse drew into the field towards them, and the forlorn hopes fired upon one

another often, but they being much too strong in horse for us, wee drew our horse into the Town, preparing for their assault, but whilst we looked for their approach, they drew away towards evening on Tuesday, and instead of souldiers turned sheep-stealers, for they have plundered all the Towns thereabouts of all their goods and householdstufte; they have taken and driven away all their horses, beasts, and sheep, and in this iniquitie have herein only dealt equally, that they have not spared those who are accounted their own friends: they spoiled and tore in pieces the inside of divers fair houses, and besides the corne they spent upon their horses, they spoiled and spilt very much upon the ground, and threw it about the fields, and what goods they could not cary away, they cut in pieces, and threw about the fields and high wayes as they went: they have uot only taken away the horses which should now plough our grounds for seed, but have cut in pieces their Horseharnesses, and things belonging to the plough, as if they meant to bring the Kingdom to destruction in an instant. And we must be bold to signifie unto you that these cruelties are not acted by mean ones; for the Commanders herein, as we are informed, were Generall *Ruthin*, the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, the Earle of Carnarvan, Lord *Grandison*, Lord *Wentworth*, and Colonell *Garrard*, with many others of their great ones; the forces they came with, were all they could get together, not leaving men enough to relcive the guard in Oxford; their forces were as we collect by all our discoveries, about 6000, who had devoured us in their thoughts before they came neare us; but God discouraged them from assaulting us which if they had done, they wold have found it a hot service; for our Souldiers and Countrey-men within the Towne were very bravely resolved to defend the place, though much inferiour to them in number, besides the great addition of strength sent unto us by his Excellency the Earle of Essex; whose care of us, and consideration of the State in securing this place, is never to be forgotten; for his Forces came to us much sooner than we could expect; and had the enemy stayed a few houres longer we had given them battell in the field: but it was not Gods pleasure the troubles of the time should end so, as yet we must expect his further pleasure. This is all they have to informe you, (and if you shall thinke fit to impart unto the House).” [H. R.]

THE CAUSE OF THE DEATH OF HAMPDEN.

BY MR. R. GIBBS.

Two hundred and twenty years after John Hampden fell in Chalgrove Field, a discussion arises as to the actual cause of his death. The facts as accepted from Clarendon, Noble, Lord Nugent, Forster, Hume, Guizot and other historians, are shaken by the narrative (hitherto pronounced a fiction) of Sir Robert Pye. The point under discussion is this,—whether Hampden died from the effects of a shot from one of the King's troops, or from the bursting of his own pistol. Historians agree almost word for word that he was killed by two carbine balls which “entering the shoulder broke the bone.”

This story of Sir Robert Pye relative to the cause of Hampden's death is presented in the following terms in the Earl of Oxford's papers: “Two of the Harleys, and one of the Foleys being at supper with Sir Robert Pye at Farrington House, Berks, in their way to Hertfordshire, Sir Robert Pye related the account of Hampden's death as follows:—

‘That in the action of Chalgrove Field, his pistol burst, and shattered his hand in a terrible manner. He, however rode off and got to his quarters, but finding the wound mortal, he sent for Sir Robert Pye, then a Colonel in the Parliamentary army, and who had married his eldest daughter, and told him that he looked on him in some degree accessory to his death, as the pistols were a present from him. Sir Robert assured him that he bought them in Paris of an eminent maker, and had proved them himself. It appeared on examining the other pistol, that it was loaded to the muzzle with several supernumerary charges, owing to the carelessness of a servant who was ordered to see that the pistols were loaded every morning which he did but without drawing the former charge.’”

In 1828, the pavement of the Chancel of Great Hampden Church being under repair, the late Lord Nugent took advantage of the circumstance and applied for and obtained permission to inspect the (supposed) remains of

Hampden. His Lordship somewhat pre-judged the result of the inspection, for in a letter written prior to the exhumation he says, "the skeleton will be found with the shoulder broken." The examination took place, and a searching one it was; the details of it are somewhat repulsive, and much too lengthy to be given here, but an account by an eye-witness may be found in Lipscomb's History.* The result of the examination was that the shoulder bones exhibited no signs of ever having been broken; the bones of the left shoulder bore evidence of injury, but more like a bruise from a fall† than the effects of a pistol wound. Strange to say the right hand was severed from the arm, and for about six inches up the arm the flesh had wasted away. It was afterwards rumoured that this was not the body of Hampden, so that the whole question then turned upon the identity of the body.

The late Mr. Grace of Wardrobes, who was present at the exhumation, reports that the corpse had "a beautiful dead face."‡ Mr. W. J. Smith (who commenced the late discussion on "Notes and Queries") who was also present, says, "the hair was long and flowing as represented in the portraits of Hampden." The most remarkable circumstance relative to the identification of the body is the evidence of Mr. Robertson who was at the time of the exhumation a confidential servant at Hampden House, and was present. In a letter on the subject he writes.§—"The first time I went up stairs after the exhumation, a portrait which hung on the best staircase appeared to be looking at me, and I immediately recognised the face and the figure of the man I had seen in the grave at Hampden Church. The sight I shall never forget as long as I live.

* Lipscomb's History of the County of Buckingham, Great Hampden, vol. iii., pages 252, 253, 254 note.

† The common account preserved of the battle in the neighbourhood of Chalgrove, is that upon Hampden's receiving his wound he retreated in the direction towards Pyrton; and that on the spot where he fell from his horse, a tree was afterwards planted, to distinguish it, as the scene of that event.

‡ The body, when the coffin was first opened, was found to be in a fine state of preservation.

§ See "Once a week" of January 10th, 1863, "Notes taken at Hampden, concerning the greatest squire of that ilk," by Mrs. Acton Tindal.

On the arrival of my late employer, Lord Buckinghamshire, from France, I told him the impression on my mind, that the portrait on the staircase must be that of the patriot Hampden. He immediately gave me orders to have it taken down and examined, and on removing a piece of old canvas, to the great joy of his lordship and the satisfaction of myself, we found the patriot's name written on the canvas of the painting in a very legible hand." The inscription mentioned that the picture had been presented by one of the Bedford family; it is this—"John Hampden, 1640. A present to Sir William Russel, and afterwards given to John Lord Russel."

The result of the late discussion is the production of the evidence of the following eye-witnesses at the exhumation:—* Lord Nugent, Lord Denman, Mr. Smith, Mr. Robertson. In reference to the Lord Nugent's opinion, Mr. Smith states that he knew his Lordship's opinion at the time was that it was the body of Hampden.† Lord Denman, in 1843, (fifteen years afterwards) in answer to an invitation from Lord Nugent to attend at Chalgrove Field, at the inauguration of the monument to the memory of Hampden, referring to the exhumation, makes use of this expression, "whose very identical body I am sure we saw," Mr. Smith says, "this remarkable difference in the condition of the hands, sufficiently proves the truth of Sir Robert Pye's relation of the cause of the death of Hampden. Mr. Robertson's letter fully explains his opinion.

* Vide Notes and Queries, January 3rd, 1863, page 12.

† What a singular coincidence that the bodies of the two great adversaries should have been exhumed, that of Charles the First to prove the place of his interment, that of Hampden to prove the cause of his death.

[It is certain that whatever may have been the actual cause of Hampden's death, the Parliamentary Journals of the day attributed it to a wound in the shoulder, received from the enemy. THE CERTAINE INFORMATIONS, 26th June, 1643, simply says, *Colonel Hampden was Shot into the shoulder*; while THE PARLIAMENT SCOUT, 27th June, after referring to the Lord Generall's Letter for the full particulars of the skirmish, writes, *Colonell HAMBDEN, and Sergeant Major GUNTER were hurt at the first charge*:

Colonel URREY that Runegadoe crying that's HAMBDEN, thats GUNTER, thats LUKE, which made the enemy so fierce upon our commanders: "..." Colonell Hambden who came by accident into this Skirmish, and Charged in Captains Crofts Troope was shot in the shoulder but is now dead."—But it is easy to understand that in the heat of a cavalry charge with exchange of pistol shots, those engaged would not observe the precise nature of the wounds inflicted, and that his comrades seeing Hampden "ride away with his arm hanging helpless by his side" would attribute his injury to a shot fired by a Royalist. The last mentioned Journal expressly states that he was "hurt at the first charge," the time, when of all others during the action, he would suffer from the bursting of a pistol previously overloaded. It is however probably impossible now to ascertain the cause of Hampden's death with undoubted accuracy.

H. R.]

FORTIFICATIONS OF AYLESBURY IN THE WINTER OF 1643-4.

"From Ailesbury in Buckinghamshire it is informed that the Towne is very strongly fortified, & that there is six peices of Ordnance and a strong garrison of men Colonel Bealstrode, his Regiment, and some other forces being there, that the Kings forces continue still at Brill near unto Ailsbury, but dare not march any further this way in the Country for that more of the Parliaments forces are quartered at Weldover, Missenden, Wickham, and other townes thereabouts, which carry themselves very orderly, doe noe harme where they come, & paying very justly for the things they have."

From "The Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament from Monday 9th of January till Monday the 16th 164³."

THE SEPULCHRAL BRASSES OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BY REV. J. A. BOODLE.

(Continued from vol. II. page 298.)

DEANERY OF NEWPORT PAGNELL.—(First portion.)

Twenty-three Churches—thirty Brasses in sixteen Churches.

[The historical importance of these Inscriptions, and the necessity of stringent accuracy in copying them, has been excellently insisted upon by Admiral Smyth, in his valuable contributions to *THE RECORDS*, vol. ii. pages 14; 106; 181; etc. To preserve a full record of these, alas too frequently perishing, monuments, and after the admirable suggestion of the Admiral, to insure perfect fidelity, the Inscriptions in these Papers have in every case been transcribed from actual rubbings made by the Rev. J. A. Boodle, and therefore may be depended upon for indisputable truth. To ascertain the extent of the spoliation of the Buckinghamshire Churches in this interesting class of Sepulchral Monuments during the past century, the Editor of the Records, while passing these sheets through the press, took the opportunity of comparing Mr. Boodle's list, taken in 1860-61, with the description by Browne Willis, of the Brasses existing entire or in fragments, in the same Churches, in the early part of the eighteenth century, and generally prior to 1712. Willis's Surveys of Churches in Buckinghamshire have never been published, but at his own request were after his death transcribed by the Rev. William Cole, Rector of Bletchley, and are to be found in his Manuscript Collections in the British Museum. The Notes below show the result of this comparison, and give the particulars and inscriptions of Brasses, not now existing in their several Churches, as they were described by Willis, and the references are to the above-mentioned manuscript of

Cole, from which they are derived. It remains to be mentioned that B. Willis' notes on the Churches of the Two Deaneries of Buckingham having been introduced into his HISTORY OF BUCKINGHAM, no need existed to reprint them in the two Papers of Mr. Boodle, which have already appeared in THE RECORDS, vol. ii. p. 254 and p. 293. Nor for the same reason will those relating to other Churches printed in that Work require to be added to the Continuations of Mr. Boodle's Papers.]

ASTWOOD.*

Thomas Chivnale in civil dress, and 2 wives, (now mural) 1534.

Inscr: as follows

Of your charite pray for the sowle of Thomas Chivnale &
 for the
 sowles of Emme & alice his wyfes whiche thomas decessed
 y^e XIII day
 of January the yere of our lord god a thowsand fyve hun-
 dred & XXXIV.

* Astwood Cole, vol. 38, folio 14.

Church. "In the Body of the Church, on the N. Side, is a Brass hid by a Seat, with the Effigies of a Man in a Gown."

"In the S Isle a large grey Marble, and thereon the Effigies of a Man & Woman in Brass: over their Heads in a Scroll is this Inscription—

Miserere mei Deus secundum Misericordiam tuam

At their Feet on a Brass

(Here follows the Inscription as above of Thomas Chivnale.)

At the Bottom, on another Plate of Brass are these Verses:

Cur Caro letatur, dum Vermibus Esca paratur?

Terre Terra datur: Caro nascitur ut moriatur,

Terram Terra tegit; Demon Peccata resumat,

Mundus Res habeat, Spiritus Alta petat.

At the four Corners of the Stone, on small round Brasses, were the Symbols of the 4 Evangelists, with their Names, *Scē Mathee. Scē Johannes. Scē Marce. Scē Lucas.* The last being torn off."

CHICHELEY.*

1. Anthony Cave Esquire, in armour, 1558.

Inscr: as follows

Hic iacet Anthonius Cave Armiger quondā Mercator
 Stapule
 Calicie dominus de Chicheley qui obiit nono die
 Septembris An^o
 dñi Millessimo ccccc^o LVIII^o cuius animæ ppicietur
 deus amen.

2. A Skeleton, in shroud, c. 1560.

Inscr: as follows:

Vos qui transitis memores nostri esse velitis,
 Quod sumus eritis, fuimus quandoq' quod estis
 Et lege et plege et nihil teribilius inueneris
 Quam viuere in eo statu in quo mori times.

All ye that passe hereby
 Ye may se where I lye
 Sone gone soner forgotten
 So shall you be that com after
 Wherfor Remember & Remember againe.

CLIFTON REYNES.†

1. Sir John Reynes, in armour, (mutilated) 1428.

Inscr: as follows:

Hic iacet Johes Reynes Miles qui obiit xxv^o die
 Marcii Anno
 dñi Millimo cccc^o xxviii^o cuius aīe ppicietur deus
 Amen.

* Chicheley Church. Cole, vol. 33, folio 106.

"In the *Body* of the Church, on a modern *Brass*, infixed on an ordinary *Stone* is this *Inscription* with a *Brass Tablet* and *Verses* under it;

Elizabeth Noke Jan: 11. 1658
Duty while a *Child*, *Love* and *Care* when a *Wife*
Curtesy & *Charity*, & a harmless *Life*
True Piety to *God*, this shining *seaven*,
 Thro' *Jesus Meritts* tooke her *Soule* to *Heaven*"

† Clifton Reynes Church. Cole, vol. 33, folio 119.
 Two Brasses, as above described.

4. Inscr :

Elizabeth the wife of
 Nicholls Hackett Esq.
 daughter of William
 Middleton of Mid-
 dleton in ye County
 of Westmoreland Esq.
 was buried the
 4th day of Dec. 1690
 in y^e 28th yeare of her age.

EMBERTON.*

Johes Mordon alias Andrew, Rector, now mural, c. 1410.

Inscr: as follows

Orate p aia mri Johis Mordon als Andrew quondm
 Rectoris isti ecclie
 qui dedit isti ecclie portos missal ordinal ps oculi in
 crat ferr manual
 pcessonal & ecclie de Olney catholicon legend aur &
 portos in crat ferr &
 ecclie de Hullmoreton portos in crat ferr et alia
 ornameta qui obiit
 die mens An dni mcccc cuius aie ppiciet
 deus Ame

On a scroll proceeding from the mouth of the effigy
 is the following inscr :

Jon preyth the sey for hy a pat' nost' & an auc.

HANSLOPE.†

1.—Maria Birchmore, child, 1602.

Inscr: as follows

* Emberton Church. Cole, vol. 38, folio 150.

John Mordon's Brass. "In the *Middle* of the *Pavement* of the *Chancel*, on an *Antient Stone*, is the *Effigies* of a *Man* in *Brass* having a *Label* from his *Mouth* on which is wrote

.. on preyeth thee sey for him a Patre nre and an Ave."
 † Hanslope Church. Cole, vol. 38, folio 187.

This Church had been sadly robbed. "Here is another (ancient Gravestone) of which all the *Brasses* are gone ;

Marmore svb hoc reqviescit corpvs Mariæ
 filiæ Thomæ Birchmore, expectantis resvr-
 rectionē gloriæ qvæ hac e vita discessit
 vltimo die Ianuarij Anō Domini 1602 cvm
 sextvm annvm ætatis svæ compleverat.

Christus solus mihi salus.

2.—Inscr:

Within the center of this marble stone
 The bodies of my dearest parents lye:
 They were Death's right, he claimes them as his owne,
 Theire Sovles to heaven, their fames are movnted highe,
 He Trovghton hight, A Hampden she by birthe,
 Whom heaven stole hence too good too live on earth,
 Yet this they left too their immortall praise
 They liv'd well, di'd well, fvl of happie dayes,
 Composed in dvtie by their beeloved Sonne
 Richard Trovghton.

HARDMEAD.*

Francys Catesby, in civil dress, 1556.

Inscr: as follows

Of your charyte pray for the Soule of Francys
 Catesby of Hardmeede Gent' the Yongest Sonne of
 Antony Catesbye of Whyston Esquyer Decessyd
 whyche Francys Decessyd the XXI day of August in
 the yere of oure Lord God a M ccccc lvi on
 whose Soule and all Christen god haue mercy ame

and another which had an Inscription in antient *gothick*
Characters, which is defaced: another also which had
 the *half Length* of the *Portraiture of a Man* and an
Inscription in Brass, all torn off; and *lastly another* which
 hath had a *Portraiture & 4 Coats of Arms*, which are
 torn off.

In *Trovghton's Chapel* is a flat Gravestone, on which
 hath been, *Effigies in Brass*, which is torn off."

* Hardmead Cole, vol. 38, folio 200.
 Church.

No change.

HAVERSHAM.*

1. Alicia Payn, (loose, in Rector's possession, July 1860) 1427.

Inscr: (mutilated) as follows

Hic iacet Alicia Payn.....Thome Payn
Armigi que obiit III die.....moracois aiar'
Anno dni M^o cccc^o xxvii^o C. iciet'ds Amen.

2. Iohn Mavnsell Gent: 1605.

Inscr: as follows

Here resteth the body of Iohn Mavnsell Gent:
who departed this life the 25th of Ianvarye
1605 when he had lived LXVI yeeres fower
moneths and five dayes whose Christian life
and godly end God gravnt vs all to follow.

LATHBURY.†

Inscr:

Here lyeth the body of
M^{rs} Mary Davies late wife
of Isaiah Davies vicar of
this Parish;
who departed this life
On the 11th day of Ivne
Ano Dni 1686 in the 66th
year of her age.

* Haversham Cole, vol. 35, folio 148.
Church.

No change.

† Lathbury Cole, vol. 38, folio 214.
Church.

"Against the wainscote, on the N. Side of the Chancel, a Brass Plate, thereon these Arms, viz., A Lion passant between three Fleurs de Lis, impaling a Lion rampant crowned, & under them is this Inscription.

"Richard Davies of Kynant in the County of Montgomery, Gent: here under buried. He deceased at the House of his Son Isaiah Davies then Minister of this Parish 20 Day of November 1661 aged 77 Years.

His Son Thomas Davies Esqr at that Time being Agent-Generall for the English Nation up-

LAVENDON.*

1. Inscr: (loose, March, 1861.)
Here lyeth y^e body of Katherine
Newton wife of Thomas Newton
Esq^e: and daughter of Martin Harvey
of Weston favill in y^e countie of Norham:
Esq^e: by Rebeckah his wife eldest
daughter of S^r George Strode. •
(date, ascertained from a stone monument, 1680.)
2. Inscr: (loose, March, 1861.)
Here lyeth the body of
IAMES NEWTON
Eldest son of Thomas Newton Esq:
who departed y^s: life at his Chamber
in y^e inward Temple (being a Barr-
ester of that house) the 10th day of
December Anno Dom: 1690
and in the 25th yeare
of his age.

GREAT LINFORD.†

1. Roger Hunt in civil dress and wife, 1473. Inscr:
as follows
Here lieth i dolven vnder this stone Roger hunt &
Johane his wiffe
Of whose propre costes alone This Church was
paved so on aft' y' liffe

on the Coast of Affrica, caused a Cenotaph to be erected in the Church of Welsh Poole, the Place of his Birth, to the pious Memory of his Father; & this small Memoriall for such Cambria-Brittain as shall this Way travell."

• Lavendon Cole, vol. 38, folio 227.
Church.

No change.

† Great Linford Cole, vol. 28, folio 90.
Church.

This Church was visited by Cole in 1756, when no other Inscriptions existed.

daughter of Iohn Bodington Clerke and
Bridgett his wife who deceased May y^e 7th 1663.
Nescis qua hora, Vigila.

2. Inscr: (partly covered by a pue)
..... of M^{rs} Bridget
..... of Iohn Bodington
..... November y^e 3^d 1673
..... Am.

NEWPORT PAGNELL.*

A civilian, much worn, C. 1440. Head and Inscr:
lost.

(Lipscomb mentions another brass, which may possibly
still exist under the matting.)

* Newport Pagnell Church. Cole, vol. 38, folio 294.

Here a considerable demolition of Brasses has
taken place since the Survey by Browne Willis.

"On an ordinary Stone at the lower End of
the Church is a brass Plate having this Inscript-
tion:

Here under lyeth the Body of Mr Anthony Potter of
Newport Pagnell, who departed this Life the 16 — July
1653, aged 68 years & 9 months.

"On a like Stone near the last is a Brass Plate,
on which is this Inscription:

Here lieth the Body of Mrs Mary White, Wife of Mr Thomas
White, the younger of Caldecot, and Daughter of George
Rotherham of Farley Esq^r who died in the 38 year of her
Age upon the 15 Day of July A: D: 1635. Aged 38, [sic.]

"In the middle of the Church are laid 3 large
antient Stones abreast, of the Paganel, as sup-
posed, said to be brought from Tickford Priory
Church, on which were Arms & Inscriptions on
brass Plates, some of which are torn off: on one
remain the Figures of a Man and Woman; on
another the Portrait of a Man with a Label from
his mouth; on the Stone were Arms & a Plate
with an Inscription, which are lost.

"Under the Window of the N Isle is an
antient Altar Monument, on which was an Inscrip-
tion on a brass Plate now taken away."

OLNEY.*

No Brasses now in existence.

SHERRINGTON.†

A white metal shield with arms of Catesby, being all that remains of a brass to a civilian and wife, with children and marginal inscription, C. 1510.

* Olney Cole, vol. 38, folio 314.
Church.

In the *N Isle* on an ordinary Stone with a brass Plate on it is this *Inscription* :

“Here lyeth the body of *Mrs Elizabeth Parker*, the wife of *John Parker* who died the 21 Day of *December*. in the 30th year of her Age, leaving behind her 3 *Sonnes*, *James*, *Thomas Joseph* and one *Daughter Elizabeth*. A Woman whilest shee lived lovinge to her Husband, kinde to her Children; Pitti full to the Poore, & a Pattern of a good Wife to all that knew her
Here Bodie here whose Soule in Heaven doth rest;
Her Vertues manye, thoughte few were her Dayes;
Her Husband happye whilest in her was blest
Who here hath such, he needes no other Joyes.”

“On an antient Stone at the upper End of the *S Isle* were the *Portraiture*s of a Man and of a Woman in Brass, at whose Feet was a Tablet with an *Inscription* which are stolen away, & in their Places is infixed a modern brass Plate on which is engraved this *Inscription*

Here rested the Body of *Humphry Niccolls*
who departed this Life the 25 of *August* 1654”

† Sherrington Cole, vol. 38, folio 346.
Church.

“Near the Desk in the Nave, on an antient Stone is the *Portraiture* of a Man in Brass; at his Feet was a Tablet, which had an *Inscription* engraved on it, both which are lost.”

“On the same Stone below him were the *Effigies* of a Man & Woman with 4 male Children standing between them in Brass, which have met with the same Fate; however the *Inscription* underneath their Feet has escaped, & is as follows :

Of your Charitee pray for the Soules of
Robert Yonge & *Ade* his Wyf the whiche
Robert decessed the IIII Day of *June* in the
Yer of our Lord God M cccc xvii on

whose Soules Ihu have Mercy. Amen.

“On an antient Marble near the upper S. Window are the *Portraiture*s of a Man & Woman in Brass: over them was a *Crucifix*, which is torn off:

TYRINGHAM.*

1. A Knight in tabard with arms of Tyingham (loose, in Rector's possession, July 1861), C. 1490. Inscr: lost.

above the *Woman* on a *Scrole* is this *Miserere nobis Domine*: at their *Feet* is this *Inscription* on a *brass Tablet*

Hic sepelitur Corpus Ricardi Mareot venerabilis
Legisperiti quondam unius Dominorū hujus
ville ac Iusticiarii Pacis hujus Comitatus:
Qui quidem Ricardus Filiam et Heredem desponsavit
Humfridi Catesby Armigeri Filii et Heredis Johis
Catesby Militis quondam de Whiteston in Comitatu
Northampton; et obiit idem Ricardus Mareot
xviii Die Julii Aº Dni MCCCCLXXXI. Cujus Aie
propicietur Deus.

Round the *Verge* this *Inscription* in *Brass* in *Part*
defaced.

Credo [quod Redemptor meus] vivit et in nov[issimo]
Die de Terra re] surrecturus sum, et in Carne mea
videbo Deum Salvatorem meum, quem visurus
sum Ego Ipse et non alius et Oculi mei conspecturi sunt,
et in Carne mea [videbo] Salvatorem meum: reposita
est hæc Spes mea in Sinu meo.

The last Paragraph is wrote round the *Verge* in a
Fillet of *Brass*: at the two *Corners* at *Top* are these
Arms, viz: on the right *Hand*: *Mareot*, a *Bend* *Gobonée*
in sinister *Chief* an *Eagle* displayed with 2 *Necks*. On
the left *Hand* *Mareot* impales *Per Fess* a *Pale* counter-
changed between 3 *Birds*. for at the *Bottom* on
the right *Hand* *Mareot* impales 2 *Lions* passant for
Catesby & on the other *Corner* *Catesby* impaleto *Maser*."

* Tyingham
Church. Cole, vol. 38, folio 390.

Mari Catesbys Brass. "On the *Pavement* of the
Chancel on an *antient Marble* are these *Arms* cut in
Brass at one *Corner* at *Top*: Two *Lions* passant for
Catesby. At the other *Corner*, *Catesby* impaling a
Saltire engrailed for *Tyingham*. At one *Corner* at the
Bottom *Catesby* impales *Tyingham*; & at the other
Corner *Tyingham* single. In the middle of the *Stone* is
this *Inscription* engraved on a *brass Plate*:

Here lyeth," as above.

"At the upper *End* of the *S. Chancel*, & under the *E.*
Window is a *Monument* of *Grey Marble*: at the *Top* of
the *Stone* is the *Effigies* of a *Woman* in *Brass*, with
these *Words* on a *Label* coming out of her *Mouth*: Dñe
accipe *Spiritus* meum: there was an *Inscription* round
the *Verge* in *Brass* which is torn off.

"Opposite to it, in the *S. Wall* of the *N. Chancel* is
another *Altar Monument*, at the *Top* of which are these
Arms quarterly. 1st *Tyingham*. 2^d *Frette*, being *Deivill*.

2. Mary, wife of Anthony Catesby, Esq., 1508.

Inscr: as follows

Here lyeth Mari Catesby wyf of Anthony Catesby
Squyer Dowghter of John Tyryngham Squyer
the whiche Mari died the XIII Daye of September
the yere of our lord god M V^o and VIII.

3. A scroll with the following inscription.
domine accipe spiritum meum
effigy and Holy Trinity lost, C. 1500.
Nos. 2 and 3 are now in the Churchyard.

3^d *Three Water-Bougets, being Trusbut. 4^h Barry of 6, over all a Bend. 3 Mulletts, being Patenham. Under these Arms are the Effigies of a Man & Woman in Brass, having a Crucifix between them in Brass, & at their Feet this Inscription on a Plate engraved in 2 Columns*

..... *John Tyryngham tumulatus*

Cum Sponsis binis jacet hic sub marmore stratus

..... *Nomen de stirpe probata*

Militis una fuit Soror illustris venerata

..... *semper amanda*

Filia Scutiferi Edmund Brudenellq secunda

..... *fuerant in Cordis Amore*

Hic in defuncti secum tumulavit Honore

..... *donet Deus alta Polorum*

Et succurat eis parcens Animabus eorum.

"On an antient Marble, on the Pavement are the Effigies of a Man & Woman in Brass: that of the Woman is torn off: Under them are the Effigies of 7 Chldren in Brass & at their Feet this Inscription:

Here lye buried *Tho: Tyryngham Esq^re & Parnell his Wife, Daughter of John Goodwin of Over Winchendon Esq^{re} & Sister to Sir John Goodwin Knt. who lived together married threescore years. The said Parnell departed out of this Life the 29 of Dec: 1594; & the said Tho: Tyryngham the 29 of March next following; he being of the Age of 80 Years, & she of the Age of 72 Years, & leaving behind them 2 Sons, Anthonie & Thomas, & 5 Daughters, Eliz: Catherine, Mary, Anne & Frances*
By this Epitaph she must have been married at 12 years of Age. W.C."

WESTON UNDERWOOD.*

1. Inscr: (marginal)

Qui iacet ut cernis modo sub petra tumulatus

Ioh̄n Olney multis

. . . . parua fuit antiqua capella ruensq'

. . ne in plebeam condidit ecclesiam.

Insuper a papa perquisivit qd' in eum

Jure sepulture gaudeat iste locus.

Hic q' sacerdotem semper diuina cauentem

Rector ut inueniat causa mouens fuerat

Anno Milleno quater C quinq' relictis

In Benedicte tua luce recessit ab

. iacet hic dionisia consors

Pro quorum rogo te funde salute preces.

2. Elizabeth, wife of Sir Robert Throkmarton, 1571.

Inscr: as follows

Hic iacet tumulata dn̄a Elizabeth Hungerford vna
filiaru

dn̄i Hussey que primū nupta fuit dn̄o Gualtero
Hungerford

et nuper vxor Roberti Throkmarton Militis que obiit
xxiii^o die Januarii Anno dn̄i m^occcc^olxxi^o.

* Weston Underwood Church. Cole, vol. 38, folio 409.

John Olney's Brass. "In the *middle* of the *Pavement* of the *Chancel* is a very large *Grey Marble*, at the *Corners* of wh were *Arms*, 3 of which are torn off: the only one that remains has this *Coat*, viz., a *Fess Crenelle*, for *Olney*. Round the *Verge* of the *Stone* is a *Brass*, at each *Corner* the *Symbols* of the 4 *Evangelists*; and on the *Brass* is this *Inscription*."

Here follow the lines as above, the omissions being supplied.

Line 2 "multis Nomine notus erat"

Line 10 . . . "Istius et secum jacet. . ."

Elizabeth Throkmarton's Brass.

"At the *upper End* of the *S. Isle*, on an *antient Stone* is the *Effigies* of a *Woman* in *Brass* & at her *Feet* the *Portraits* of 5 *Daughters*, & the following *Inscription* on a *Brass Tablet*,

Hic jacet," as above,

THE ANNUAL MEETING, 1864.

Abridged from "The Bucks Advertiser and Aylesbury News" of Sept. 3rd, 1864.

The Annual Excursion and Meeting was held on Tuesday the 30th of August, the field of investigation being the district including WADDESdon, QUainton, DENHAM COURT, and DODDERSHALL. The Members and their friends assembled first at WADDESdon, where they were received by the Rev. R. B. BURGESS, the Rector, and conducted over the Church, which has lately undergone a thorough restoration. From WADDESdon the visitors proceeded to QUainton CHURCH, which seems to stand in need of a similar process of restoration to that which has been carried out at WADDESdon, and thence went forward to DENHAM COURT, an old Mansion, built about the time of Henry VIII, now the property of the Duke of Leeds. From DENHAM the Members of the Society proceeded to DODDERSHALL HOUSE, where they were most hospitably made welcome and entertained at luncheon in the Library by Mr. GRENVILLE PIGOTT, the owner of the Mansion. Luncheon being finished, the Members assembled in the Hall, when the Chair was taken by Mr. PIGOTT and the business of the Meeting was commenced.

After the re-election of the Officers of the Society, Mr. PIGOTT was, on the motion of Mr. ROSE, added to the List of Vice-Presidents, and the names of the Rev. C. ERLE and Mr. DAUNCEY to the Committee.

The following Gentlemen having been previously proposed in the Committee were elected Members:—

Lord Clermont, Ravensdale Park, Newry; B. J. Holloway, Esq., Thame; Mr. A. Turner, Wycombe; Mr. J. Clements, Tring; Rev. W. Foxley Norris, Buckingham; Rev. R. B. Burgess, Waddesdon.

The Report and Statement of Accounts were then read, and the following presentations to the Library announced—

The "*Speculum*," or 2nd Volume of the *Aedes Hartwellianae*, by J. LEE, Esq., LL.D. History of Northamptonshire, by Admiral SMYTH.

Researches at Long Wittenham, Berkshire, by J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq.

Twelve Numbers for 1863 of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, by Messrs. PARKER, Oxford.

On the motion of Archdeacon BICKERSTETH, seconded by the Rev. A. ISHAM, the Report was received.

The Rev. C. LOWNDES, Hon. Sec., then read a Paper, by the Rev. W. H. KELKE, on "*Antient Stone Crosses with special reference to those in the County of Buckingham.*" As this Paper, it is hoped, will appear in a future number of THE RECORDS, it is unnecessary to say more than that it gives an exhaustive catalogue of the stone crosses yet remaining in the County, and was admirably illustrated by drawings made by Mr. E. J. PAYNE, of High Wycombe.

Archdeacon BICKERSTETH then moved a vote of thanks to Mr. KELKE, and observed that some striking illustrations of the subject might be found in Lady Eastlake's recent work on "*The Life of Our Lord Illustrated by Christian Art.*" A conversation followed in which the Rev. A. ISHAM, Mr. J. K. FOWLER, the Rev. I. RICHARDSON, Mr. CLARKE, the Rev. W. F. NORRIS. Mr. C. FOWLER took part, and elicited further information, the Rev. J. H. SNELL observing that "there were about 100 way-side Crosses in the county of Cornwall, for the most part Greek Crosses."

Then followed a paper, read by Rev. W. F. NORRIS, and contributed by the Rev. H. ROUNDELL, on "*The Civil Wars in the neighbourhood of Waddesdon, Quainton and Doddershall*," and after this the Rev. C. LOWNDES read the concluding Paper, "*On Doddershall*," founded almost exclusively on information furnished by Mr. PIGOTT. The paper entered into a full account of the ancestors of the family of Pigott, who settled in Yorkshire after the Conquest, and during the Wars of the Roses espoused the side of the Duke of York. About 1460, one of the family married the heiress of Whaddon in Bucks, and became hereditary Keeper of the Chase. The Doddershall estates were purchased about 1503 by Thomas Pigott, Esq. of Whaddon, and on failure of his descendants passed to a branch of the family settled at Chetwyn in Shropshire. Other interesting particulars were adduced, and an illuminated pedigree of the Pigott family, drawn out in the reign of Queen Elizabeth by Sir E. Phillips, was exhibited by Mr. LOWNDES.

Archdeacon BICKERSTETH moved and Dr. LEE seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. PIGOTT for his hospitable reception of the Members of the Society. In the course of his remarks the Archdeacon said "To an Archaeological Society it must be interesting "to be received by the representative of a family which had held that mansion for "above 300 years. They all felt the truth of the sentiment—

Stemmata quid faciunt?

Quid prodest Pontice longo

Sanguine censeri?

"But when they saw this long pedigree worthily maintained by genuine English hospitality, thorough kindness of disposition, gentleness, and all the qualities which "Englishmen value, they could not but feel that the possession of real moral worth is "the best guarantee for the transmission of hereditary estates. He trusted Mr. Pigott "might long be spared as one to whom they might look up, and whom they "admired as worthy every way of the name he bore."

Mr. PIGOTT then expressed in hearty terms the gratification he felt in receiving the Members of the Archaeological Society at his house on the occasion of the Annual Meeting, and the business being now concluded the company dispersed, many of them lingering to view the curious objects by which they were surrounded—the quaint carving of the old Hall, easily distinguishable from the original work—the pictures on the staircase, indeed all parts of the building afforded matters of interest. And among others an inscription at the entrance of the cellar, hospitable and wise alike—

Welcome my friend, drinke with A noble heart

But yet before thou drinke too much, departe

For though good drinke will make A coward stout

Yet when too much is in the witt is out. 1610.



ERRATA—IN VOL, III. No. 3.

- p. 106, l. 6. for *thirty* read *thirty-two*.
p. 108, l. 2. after *in armour*, insert, *and wife*.
p. 108. after *Chicheley*. 2., insert 3 and 4.

3. Shield, with arms and crest of Shelley family,
and inscr: as follows

Hic iacet, secvndvm svi Iesv expectans
Adventvm, Gvlielmvs Shelley, Henrici
Shelley, de Patcham in Com: Svssexiaë
Armigeri, filivs sextvs:
Largitate in egenos,
Amænitate in svos,
Probitate in omnes,
Admirandvs.
Amicorvm omnivm cvm lvctv, cælebs hinc
Migravit, Martij 12^{MO} An^o Ætatis 31^o
Christi 1638.

4. Inscr:

Duty, while a child, love and care, when a wife
Covrtesy, and charity, and a harmeles life,
Trve piety to God, this shining seaven
Thro Iesus meritts, tooke her sovle to heaven
Ian: 11: 1658.

On the stone in which the above inscription is
inserted is engraved,
Elizabeth....Ian: 14: 1658
The word Noke is now wanting.

- p. 111, l. 3. for *hac* read **hoc*, and in margin **sic*.

DESECRATED CHURCHES IN BUCKS.

(Continued from Vol. ii., p. 205.)

BY THE REV. W. H. KELKE.

DEANERY OF WYCOMBE.*

Fourteen ancient churches or chapels, at least, within the old Deanery of Wycombe have been destroyed or converted to secular purposes. Of these, six were in the parish of Wycombe, and will doubtless be described by Mr. Payne in his paper on that town. Leaving these, then, to him, the first parish in alphabetical order here to be noticed is Hughenden. On or near a manor in this parish, called Overhall, there has, doubtless, been a chapel, though the existing notices of it are very slight. There is a meadow still bearing the name of "Chapel Platt," and a hill that of "Chapel Hill," and the name "Chapellhill" appears in the Hughenden Court Roll of A.D. 1654. A chapel standing on the hill here, indicated by the name, would have been very convenient for a large hamlet, called "North Dean," which is two miles from the parish church.

Marlow had three chapels within the parish.

Besides a chantry chapel attached to the parish church, there was one connected with a hermitage, which is still indicated by the names "Chapel Street" and "Chapel End," but I have not been able to learn more about it.

The old manor-house of Harleyford had a chapel belonging to it, which is thus noticed by Langley in his history of Desborough Hundred:—"Tucker Bold had a grant from John, Bishop of Lincoln, July 16th, A.D. 1542, to allow him to have a priest to officiate within his chapel at Harleythorpe, within his manor there, on account of

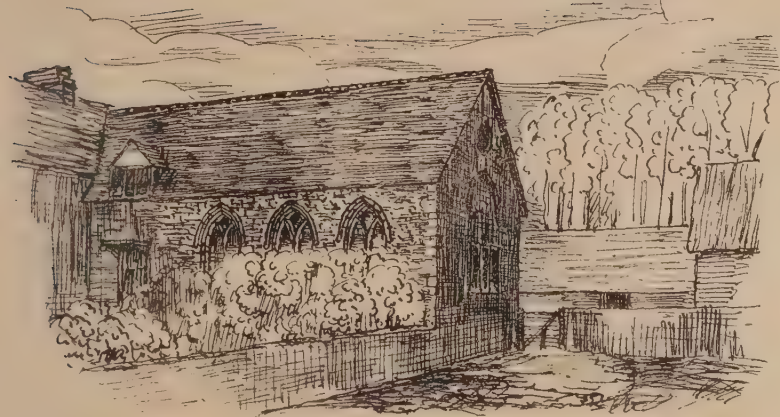
* Since the notes were taken for this series of papers, a new arrangement of the deaneries has been made. The Deanery of Wycombe has been abolished, and is now included in that of Amersham.

the distance of the parish church." Langley, afterwards speaking of the old manor-house, says, "this chapel was used till the whole was pulled down in 1755, when a handsome regular mansion was erected on the same spot." This was, doubtless, merely a private chapel for the use of the mansion, and the cottages connected with it.

We now come to a more interesting notice.

Widmer, another manor in the same parish, once contained a hamlet of some extent, but has now only one farm-house, part of which is formed out of an ancient chapel. This chapel, which stands east and west, and forms a right angle with the rest of the building, still retains much of its former ecclesiastical character. A considerable portion, if not the whole of the original roof and walls remain, and shows that it consisted of a nave and chancel of remarkably good proportions. The walls are well built of rubble, strengthened with stone quoins at the angles. The east window has been blocked up, but from the hood moulding and the internal stumps of tracery which still exist, it has evidently been a decorated window of three lights. Above it, in the gable, is a small vesica window of early date, but the mouldings having perished, it is not easy to determine its exact period. On the south side are the remains of three decorated windows, two of which retain the hoods, jambs, mullions, and tracery, and the third has portions of them. A modern door has been inserted in the wall, and a bed-room window in the roof. On the north side are two narrow circular-headed windows of the Norman or transition period. They are now blocked up. The chapel has been converted into two stories of domestic rooms, and so far as could be ascertained, all ecclesiastical relics within have long since perished or been removed.

Beneath the chapel there is a fine old crypt in a fair state of preservation. It is of equal dimensions with the floor of the building, being thirty-eight feet long by seventeen feet two inches wide, and consists of two aisles divided by four arches, resting on massive round pillars. The pillars, which are plain, and five feet in circumference, stand on plinths, equally devoid of ornament, and have a simple necking with octagonal capitals. The vaulting across the aisles is so slightly curved that the middle of the arch is only one foot seven inches higher than the



View of Chapel

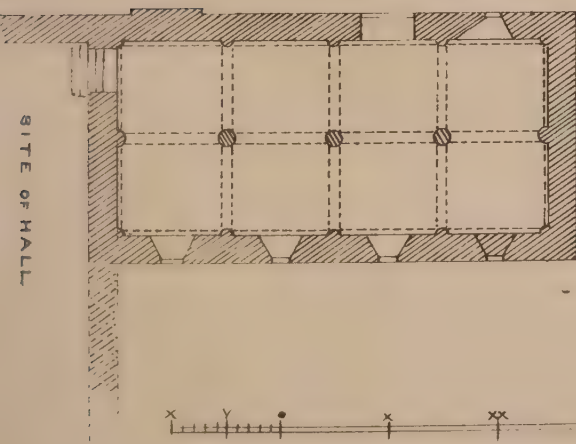
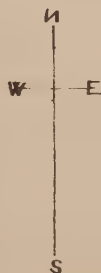
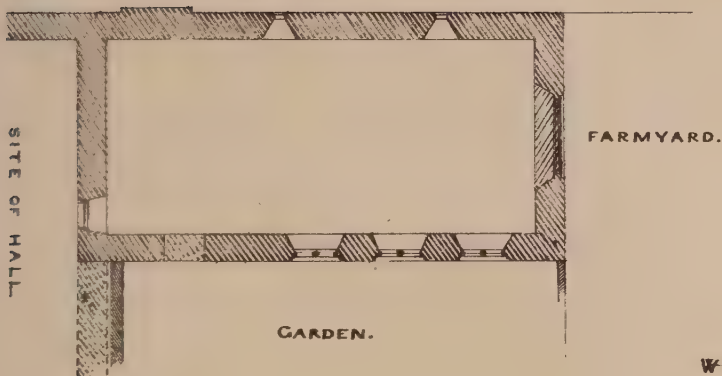


View of Undercroft

Bemrose & Sons, Derby

Records of Bucks, W.

ROAD.



+ Plan of the Chapel and Undercroft
at Widmore Manor, Great Marlow,
Bucks October 1863.

level of the capitals, though the span of the arch is eight feet. The roof, which is not groined, is formed of rough, unshaped pieces of chalk, and strengthened with plain ribs running parallel to each other from the pillars to small responds in the wall with circular caps rudely moulded. There have been four splayed windows on the south side, and one on the north. There is also on the north a recess which appears to have been an entrance, but the only present entrance is at the west end by a flight of stone steps, which, however, appear coeval with the crypt.

The architecture of this interesting edifice evidently belongs to two periods. The two north windows and the crypt may safely be assigned to the close of the twelfth century, or the beginning of the thirteenth; while the east and south windows, which are clearly of the decorated style, must have been inserted at least a century later.

A few words may now be said respecting the erection of this chapel. It is two miles and a half from the parish church, but the farm-house adjoining it is the only dwelling in the neighbourhood. On referring, however, to the manorial history, we find that when the Domesday survey was taken Widmer was a hamlet containing fourteen villeins and six borderers; thus making twenty families, amounting probably to about one hundred souls, besides those in the mansion, which doubtless occupied the site of the present farm-house. Such a population would, in those days, be considered amply sufficient for the erection of a chapel-of-ease; but no such chapel is mentioned in the Domesday notice, nor does any part of the present chapel appear to have been built till about a century later, at which time the manor of Widmer was in the possession of the Knights Templars, and continued in their possession till about A.D. 1320. To the Templars, therefore, we may safely assign the earliest portions of this chapel, and conclude that the crypt was designed as their chapter-house, for they are well known to have held their chapters with the strictest secrecy. From the Templars Widmer passed, about the year 1320, to the Hospitallers, who doubtless inserted the decorated windows, and repaired other portions of the chapel in the same style.

There are some peculiar features in the architecture of this chapel which deserve notice. The flatness of the vaulting of the crypt, and the octagonal capitals of the

pillars seem not to accord with the apparent date of the rest of the building, and the early English windows on the north side of the chapel are splayed in a peculiar manner.

In Langley's time the chapel was used as a brewhouse ; it is now converted into habitable rooms, and the crypt into a dairy and wine-cellar.

Medmenham had, beside the parish church, a church attached to the abbey and a chapel-of-case. The Abbey Church, which was standing in A.D. 1718, when Brown Willis visited it, has been since entirely demolished, having now only the fragment of a pillar standing. A chapel formerly existed at Hollowick, near Wood End, a small hamlet about two miles from the parish church. The chapel has long since been swept away, but its site is still indicated by a field called "Chapel-field."

Saunderton, though a small village, with a population of only two hundred and thirty-two souls, and probably never containing many more, had formerly two churches, St. Nicholas's and St. Mary's, each a distinct rectory with a separate endowment. Langley and Lipscombe give a list of the successive rectors of each church from the year 1276 to 1452. These churches, though standing near each other, were on separate manors belonging to different lords, each of whom had the patronage of the rectory on his own manor. In or about the year 1455 the two manors and advowsons passed into the hands of the same proprietor, the two rectories were then united and presented to William Tybard as sole incumbent. The church of St. Mary was alone used for divine worship, and that of St. Nicholas was suffered to fall into ruin. Not a vestige of the sacred edifice now exists, and its exact site is uncertain. In the year 1807, when an enclosure took place, some old foundations were discovered in a garden belonging to a small public-house, and many human bones and skeletons, says Lipscombe, were dug up here, and in some osier beds which are now covered with water. Many years afterwards, and during the incumbency of the present rector, a stone coffin containing two skeletons was found in the same garden, "which," observes my informant, "is unusually fertile." This garden, then, thus fertilised by human remains, is doubtless the site of the demolished church.

The two churches at Saunderton present an uncommon, but by no means a solitary case. Barton, a village in the North Riding of Yorkshire, has two churches standing contiguous to each other; Wigston, in Leicestershire, from the same circumstance, has acquired the name of Wigston two steeples; Swaffham, in Cambridgeshire, has two churches standing in the same churchyard; and Reepham, in Norfolk, had formerly three fine churches all standing in one churchyard. Such cases appear to us anomalous, and they would be so, were our ancient churches founded, as some persons suppose, by a national grant, or in any way at the public expense. But a little knowledge of history enables us to account for these cases. The fact is that our old churches, except some few in cities and large towns, were in reality founded for manors, and not for parishes. The lord of a manor, by his own voluntary act, built and endowed a church, generally near to his own residence, for the use of his household and of those living on his adjacent estates. Thus we often find churches standing at a distance from the village, but near the site of an ancient manor-house, as at Wendover, Weston Turville, Stoke Mandeville, Drayton Beauchamp, etc. Where there were two or more manors in a parish or district belonging to different lords, it was usual for them to join in founding a church for their respective household and dependents; but occasionally, where from some private feud or other cause, they could not amicably unite in the work, yet, being zealous Churchmen, and desirous to provide their respective dependents with the means of religious worship, each of these lords founded a separate church for the residents on his own manor; as at Saunderton, where each church stood on a separate manor, and at Reepham, where all three churches stood in one churchyard, we are yet expressly informed that they severally belonged to the three lordships of Reepham, Hackford, and Whitwell, in the same parish. But the natural evils of such a practice soon became apparent. Originating, as it generally did, in strife and jealousy between the founders, it soon engendered similar feelings between the incumbents and between their respective flocks, so that neither party could carry out effectually any plans for the general good of the parish. Such ad-vowsons were therefore usually soon consolidated and

placed under the charge of one incumbent, who, using only the best church, or that most convenient for his parishioners, the other fell into decay, as was the case with Saunderton. We cannot regret the union of two such rivals, nor wonder that a disused church could not weather the storms of church-destroying periods, but our feelings are shocked at Christian cemeteries being converted into gardens.

Wooburn, the next and last parish to be noticed, has been deprived of two consecrated chapels. One of them adjoined the mansion belonging to Deyncourt Manor, and was a cruciform structure, thirty-six feet long and twenty-four feet wide. I have not been able to ascertain any particulars respecting its foundation, but portions of it are still traceable in the windows and roof of a building adjoining the Deyncourt almshouse. But there are no indications of interments ever having taken place here.

The other chapel was connected with the episcopal palace, which, for several centuries, was one of the favourite residences of the Bishops of Lincoln.

In the seventeenth century this palace and manor became the property of Philip, Lord Wharton, and during the Commonwealth, and till nearly the close of the century, this episcopal chapel was used by a Nonconformist congregation. It continued in existence till A.D. 1750, when the whole mansion was pulled down; but "the chapel," says Langley, who wrote in 1797, was "still spoken of by aged people in terms of admiration."

The parish of Wooburn, according to the "Diocesan Calendar" for the present year (1863), contains 2300 inhabitants, and church room for only 360, so that these demolished chapels, which would probably have accommodated at least 100 more, might have been made very serviceable to the parish, especially as that adjoining the palace, stood near Wooburn Green, which of itself is a moderately-sized village, and now a railroad station. Indeed, the present Vicar of Wooburn has found it so desirable to hold services in various parts of his parish, that he has constructed a moveable chapel, which is wheeled about from hamlet to hamlet, as he finds it convenient and desirable.

When I began this series of papers on the Desecrated Churches of this County, I knew but of about forty that

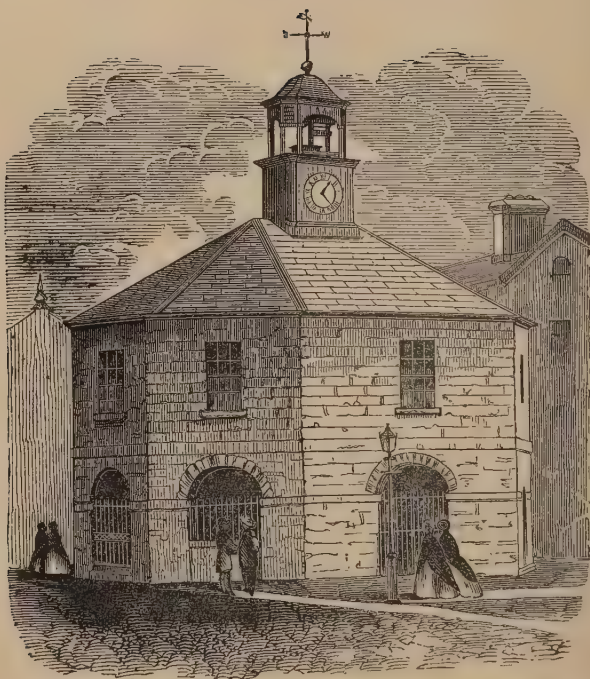
would come within its scope. Further investigation, as is generally the case, has discovered to me several more. Already I have noticed thirty-seven, and have still by me notes on about twenty more, so that the whole number may safely be estimated at sixty. Now, suppose each of these lost chapels would hold on an average fifty persons, the county has thus lost church room for 3000 worshippers, while the population, during their gradual destruction, has been steadily and largely increasing. From its migratory nature it must be admitted that some of these chapels were no longer needed in their respective localities; but while they have heedlessly been allowed to pass away, no others, or scarcely any, have been built to provide for the immense increase of population in other parts. Nor is this all. Hitherto I have noticed only such churches and chapels as have been destroyed, or converted to secular purposes. But there are other ways of desecrating churches. They may become so dilapidated, so disfigured, so secularized as to have no appearance of sacred edifices. Windows and doors may be blocked up; arches and pillars be cut away to fix up unsightly galleries; mouldings and sculpture may be plastered over to save the expense of repairs; fonts may be "beautified," as I have known them, with blue and red paint, and, worse still, used as cupboards for candle-ends and tinder-boxes, or filled with fragments of sculpture and memorial brasses. And even worse, I have known the communion-table used as a writing-desk for Sunday-school children, and at vestry-meetings. But enough of this. It is a painful subject. How refreshing to turn our thoughts to a brighter prospect. A spirit of reverence for churches has been awakened throughout the country, and it is gratifying to see our own county among the foremost to manifest this spirit. Something has already been done towards repairing the evils of past desecrations. Within the last ten years no less than twelve new churches have been founded, five have been rebuilt, and forty-five have been restored, making a total of sixty-two churches, which may almost be regarded as so many houses of prayer regained. For consider how much is implied in the word "restored." It implies not only that a church has been thoroughly and substantially repaired, but that it has been recovered from a state more or less resem-

bling what I have described as a partially desecrated condition. Any instance of reformation would suffice to exemplify this. Let us take that of our county town, St. Mary's Church, Aylesbury. When I first knew that church, it was not only in a dangerous state of dilapidation, but it was deformed in almost every possible way within the sacred walls. The pillars of the nave had fallen from the perpendicular, their capitals had been broken and cut away to fix up clumsy galleries. The pulpit, reading-desk, and pews were all as ugly as can well be conceived; beautiful arches and mouldings were concealed by plaster; a huge, dirty-looking, singing loft hid the beautiful lantern tower; and heaps of rotten boards and rubbish, lying here and there, with the effluvia arising from ill-covered graves below, rendered the church not only unsightly, but actually pestiferous. Now it is the gem of our county churches. All its original beauties have been disclosed and renovated; where requisite new ones have been judiciously added. I remember a lovely arcade in the north wall of the chancel being discovered, but the corresponding one on the south side had been completely destroyed. The original one has now been skilfully restored, and a new one, in perfect harmony, has been added on the opposite wall. Stained glass windows, well designed and executed, have superseded the former ones throughout the chancel, and most other parts of the church. All the beautiful arches and pillars, with their rich mouldings, have been renewed. The old pulpit, galleries, and pews are gone, and the whole church from east to west has a truly ecclesiastical, and hallowed, and reverential aspect. The symmetry of the entire edifice, and the harmony of its arrangements and decoration, are striking. But there is nothing gaudy, no fantastic embellishments. It charms and elevates the mind by its beauty, its chasteness, its purity, by the air of stillness and solemnity which pervades it, and by its sacred memorials and associations. All its details combine to invest it with the unmistakable character of a hallowed edifice, consecrated to the service of Him who hath said, "Reverence my sanctuary."

"We cannot, of course, expect to find in village churches the same amount of ornament and amplitude of arrangement; but if properly restored they inspire the



AYLESBURY CORN EXCHANGE, Built 1865.



AYLESBURY MARKET HOUSE, Built about A.D. 1808.

same feelings of reverence and devotion. It has also been found that every case of church restoration has led to a marked increase of interest and veneration on the part of the parishioners, and a large addition to the number of the worshippers within its walls.

Let these facts stimulate us to redoubled exertions. Let us not rest till every church in our county has been reverentially restored, and every hamlet or district where a new church is required be duly provided for. Then, and not till then, shall we have done what in us lies towards remedying the evils of past apathy and desecration. And then may we, with a clear conscience, say or sing—

“These temples of his grace,
How beautiful they stand!
The honours of our native place,
The bulwarks of our land.”

AYLESBURY.

Accompanying the historical sketch of Aylesbury, by the Venerable Archdeacon Bickersteth, vol. ii., page 257, of the “Records of Buckinghamshire,” is a print of the ancient town-hall, as it appeared in 1738. The two prints of the market-house, and the new corn exchange designed by D. Brandon, Esq., are from wood engravings lent to the Society by Mr. R. Gibbs, a member.

In a charter of Queen Mary, in 1553, making Aylesbury a borough, there is also conferred the right of holding a market on Wednesday—a privilege still exercised to some extent; also two fairs, one on the Annunciation, and the other on Holy Rood day. The more important market, on Saturdays, is held under a charter of Queen Elizabeth, dated 1579, which also grants another fair on the eve of Palm Sunday. King John granted the town a fair on St. Oswald’s day (August 5), which is now disused. The modern fair days are—the Friday next following the 18th January, the Saturday before Palm Sunday, the 8th May, the 14th June, the 25th September, and the 12th October. The wool fair, established in 1834, is held on the second Wednesday in July, and a fat cattle fair in December.

DODDERSHALL, IN THE PARISH OF QUAINTON.

A PAPER READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
SOCIETY, AUGUST 30TH, 1864.

BY THE REV. C. LOWNDES, F.R.A.S.

It has devolved upon me to give a brief historical and descriptive account of the fine old manorial mansion in which we are now assembled. I must first, however, congratulate the members of our Society upon the kind invitation and courteous reception given them by our worthy host and hostess, the representatives of the family which has held this manor for the last three hundred and sixty years. This entertainment is an act of liberality on their part for the encouragement of archaeological science, for which I feel personally indebted, and for which, I think, we must all confess that the thanks of the Society are due.

In giving you some notices of this manor-house,* in days long gone by, it will not be necessary for me to go over the ground which has been trodden by Lyson, Lipscombe, and other county historians, but I shall confine my remarks chiefly to the information given me by its present possessor.

On approaching the house, we cannot but be struck with its ancient appearance and the seclusion of its site. The rude doorways and studded doors, the old mullioned windows, the curious gables, and the immense stacks of chimneys without; the huge oak timbers, the low ceilings, the capacious fireplaces, and the grotesque carvings within—all betoken the architecture of bygone times. This interesting example of domestic architecture of the middle ages is situated in a fertile tract of land bordering the ancient forest of Bernwood, which occupied an extensive portion of the north-western part of the county. Its pleasing situation, convenient distance from the surrounding villages, apparent isolation from modern associations, and the picturesque seclusion of the spot, give to it a singular charm, and raise in the mind of the visitor a feel-

* The common name for a house was *manor* (French, *manoire*, Latin *manerium*, from *manere*), without any apparent distinction of character or dimensions.

ing of interest in the history as well as in the preservation of the structure. I say preservation of the structure, for many mansions which were once the ornaments of the provinces, have long since disappeared, and others are passing fast away under the ravages of fire or the leveling influence of railways, or by the joint agencies of neglect and of well-intentioned but injudicious alterations and repairs, frequently obliterating the ancient features under the plea of restoration. In view, however, of this sequestered spot, a railroad has now been constructed, and its swift train, *ponderibus librata suis*, will soon glide past this manor, and many a hitherto-unfrequented house and village.

Dr. Lipscombe, in his county history, states that the first mention of Doddershall was in the reign of King John, when it was in the possession of the ancient family of the Cranfords; but amongst the old deeds preserved here, and beautifully and chronologically arranged by Mr. Thorpe of the British Museum, there are several as early as the reign of Henry I., in which mention is made thereof. The following transcript of one of these deeds may serve as a specimen of the others. It has no date, as is the case with many of the earlier ones, but from the style of the writing, Mr. Thorpe has fixed its date, and has marked it "Temp: Henry I":—

"Michael Cranford, to John, son of Michael the young, of Doddereshulle Grant for his service and 40s. sterling, six and a-half acres, and one rood of arable land in the fields of Doddereshulle, he paying yearly a rent of one silver penny for the same.

"Witnesses,

"The Lord Robert Mallet, John Carbonel, William the Hunter of Westeote, Robert of Totherwycke, Richard of Warmodestone, Richard of Totherwycke, W. Barkulfe," and others.

The Cranfords, who occasionally took the name of Doddereshall, kept possession of the estate until 1479, when Richard Cranford conveyed all his rights to John le Knight and Robert Bruce, and in 1503 it passed by purchase to Thomas Pigott, Esq., Serjeant-at-law, of Whaddon. Dr. Lipscombe says that "Mr. Serjeant Pigott's ancestors had migrated out of Yorkshire, where they had been established soon after the Norman Conquest, and in the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster following the fortunes of Queen Margaret, had settled at Whaddon." The fact is, the Pigotts, long settled in

Yorkshire, were Yorkists, and through the interest of Richard, Duke of York, father of Edward IV., a Pigott married his ward, Margaret, daughter of John Gifford, the heiress of Whaddon, and thus became hereditary Ranger of the Chase. He was afterwards slain with his great patron at the battle of Wakefield, December 23rd, 1460. The manor of Doddershall, having been settled by Mr. Serjeant Pigott upon his second wife, Elizabeth, at her marriage, for life, was left, according to the *Testamenta Vetusta*, to his son, William Pigott, with remainder to his other sons, the will being proved 1520. It continued in possession of his descendants until the year 1704, when on failure of issue, it passed to that branch of the family which had been long settled at Chetwynd in Shropshire. The beautifully-illuminated pedigree on vellum, compiled from the time of the Conqueror to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was the principal link which led to the estate being left to this younger branch of the family, and passing from the Pigotts of Waddon to the descendants of the Pigotts of Shropshire. A very singular circumstance occurred respecting this pedigree. At the time of the French Revolution, the representative of the Pigotts of Chetwynd, thinking that a new order of things had arisen, sold his property, and invested the proceeds in French assignats and American securities, and lost it all. He afterwards married a Swiss lady of a good family at Geneva, with whom, about forty years ago, the brother of our worthy host, and subsequently his cousin, became acquainted. This venerable lady handed to the latter a counterpart, in excellent preservation, of the original pedigree now exhibited, and which had been an heirloom in the Chetwynd branch of the family from A.D. 1600 to the time when, through the improvidence of the owner, that fine estate was sold to the father of its present possessor, Mr. Burton Burrowes, after having belonged to the Pigotts for five centuries.

It may be presumed that from a very early period there has been a residence here, erected, probably, in consequence of the existence of a fine spring of clear water in the cellar on the south-west side of the present building, a rare and valuable possession in the deep bed of clay, comprising this district. Indeed, the name itself, "Doddershall," seems to prove this, for the termination,

hall, is evidently derived from the Anglo-Saxon *heal*, a castle or mansion, and *Dodder*, or *Dodere*, may be a proper name, whence *Dodder's Hall*, or *Doddershall*.

History informs us that the Conqueror retained the neighbouring manor of Brill, distant six miles, as a royal demesne, in like manner as it had been held under Edward the Confessor, that King John afterwards kept at Brill the Christmas of 1205, and that Henry II. held a court there in 1160 (when Becket attended him as Chancellor) and 1162. From these facts, and the circumstance that at this early period all the estates in the adjacent parishes were held by persons of high rank and wide possessions; and from the existence in the immediate vicinity of the extensive forest of Bernwode (some hundreds of acres of which still remain), affording ample scope for the pleasures of the chase, and supplying food for swine and abundance of fuel, it may fairly be assumed that there has been a manor-house here of some importance from a very remote period. This supposition is confirmed by the following interesting fact:—Some excavations, about seven years since, were made for a new foundation, when the workmen came upon the crown of a bricked arch, which they had much difficulty in breaking through. The aperture disclosed a passage four feet wide and seven feet high, running diagonally under the present building, and choked up with rubbish. This occurred late in the autumn, and during Mr. Pigott's absence; the workmen, therefore, having attained their object, did not explore the passage, but closed it up, having taken out a few relics which are now exhibited, and which seem to indicate a Romano-British period.

The present mansion, with its four corners facing the cardinal points of the compass, is apparently of very different dates. Originally it was composed of three sides of a courtyard, leaving the south-west side, which is now built upon, open with terraces down to the water or moat. It was upon this open side that the spring of water, now forming a well in the cellar, was situated; probably there may have been an inner moat, on this side, supplied by the spring, and used as a means of defence against invasion. The building on this side is of more modern architecture than any other part, the spouting to the same bearing date 1689. The north-west side, which possessed

a clock-tower in its centre, has been pulled down. The south-east side is evidently the oldest part, and was probably erected about the time of Edward III. or Richard II., as may be conjectured from the costume of the two rude effigies carved on the medallions built in the wall of the chimney, which are supposed to represent Richard II. and his Queen, Ann of Bohemia. The position of the mansion at that period, with its characteristic stack of chimneys and the deer park studded with large elm-trees, is correctly delineated on the ancient map of the north-west boundary of the forest of Bernwode, which bears the date 1523, soon after the acquisition of the estate by the Pigotts. This map certainly marks the antiquity of the south-east side of the present building, which contains the old hall and the appropriate library over it. Anyone with a limited knowledge of domestic architecture can mentally reconstruct the north-west side of this very interesting manorial mansion, repeople this ancient hall and the courtyard with the old domestics and armed retainers, and restore the fabric in all its feudal splendour and magnificence. Enjoying ourselves as we have done at the festive board of its worthy owner, and assembled in this hall, imagination can picture to itself his ancestors of many generations sitting here, according to the custom of the times, with all their guests and dependants at their daily feasts. The furniture of this old hall, which was then the dining chamber, was simple and scanty of its kind, consisting probably only of standing tables, or tables on trussels, and wooden forms for seats. As to the comfort of a boarded floor and carpet, so indispensable in the present day, such a thing was never thought of; but there were the capacious fire-place, with its massive andirons supporting the burning logs of wood in the winter season, betokening genuine English hospitality, and the stone floor as you now see them in their primitive simplicity. The hall was formerly hung with old armour of all descriptions—interesting memorials of days long gone by and of the civil wars—but the greater part was disposed of by auction in accordance with the will of the eccentric Lady Say and Sele, relict of the great uncle of the present owner, to whom his personalty was left.

The principal documents, which are worthy of inspection, and to which I have alluded, are—



South East View of Doddershall House.

1. The interesting collection of ancient deeds dating from the time of Henry I.

2. The ancient map of the north-west boundary of the forest of Bernwode, bearing date 1529.

3. The emblazoned pedigree on vellum, compiled in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, under the direction of Sir E. Phillips, her Master of the Rolls, who married a Pigott, and dated 1585.

4. A pardon, under the Great Seal, which was granted to Sir Richard Pigott after the restoration of Charles II.

During the formation of the railway to which I have alluded, several interesting articles have been discovered. These are now exhibited, and have been presented to the Society by Mr. S. G. Payne—viz., mediæval bottle, gilt spur, bridle cutter, two bullets, buckle, leaden coin, and the boss of a fibula. The discovery of the figured gilt spur tends to confirm the description given of Quainton, that it has been a place of some note in former days, insomuch that races were held in the “open field.” There is a singular account of the different reception of two noblemen at these races, given in “A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain,” by a Gentleman, 1725, vol. ii., letter iii., page 21 :—

“It was my hap formerly to be at Aylesbury, where there was a mighty confluence of Noblemen and Gentlemen, at a famous Horse Race at Quainton Meadow, not far off, where was then the late Duke of Monmouth, and a great many Persons of the First Rank, and a prodigious concourse of people.

“I had Occasion to be there again in the late Queen's Reign ; and when the same Horse Race, which is continu'd yearly, happen'd again, and then there was the late Duke of Marlborough and a like Concourse of Persons of Quality : but the reception of the two Dukes was mightily differing, the last Duke finding some Reasons to withdraw from a Publick Meeting, where he saw he was not like to be used as he thought he had deserved.”

This description which I have had the pleasure of reading to you may not have much to recommend it to your notice ; the interest it may have excited may be ascribed very much to the gaiety of the scene before us, to the kind hospitality we have been receiving, and to our presence within this fine old manorial mansion which is the subject of this paper.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PAINTINGS

DISCOVERED ON THE NORTH WALL OF SWANBOURNE
CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

BY THE REV. J. SLATTER.

These paintings do not appear to have been designedly defaced, but simply covered with a thick coat of whitewash. A large portion has been destroyed by the erection of a mural tablet, and much damage done in the course of the work now going on for the restoration of the church, before the paintings were discovered, and the whitewash peeled off to reveal them.

The principal subject which has escaped mutilation sufficiently to be deciphered is an allegorical representation of the different conditions of the Soul of Man in this world and the next.

The frame of the picture is a brick building divided into three stages or storeys, each of which is again subdivided into three scenes.

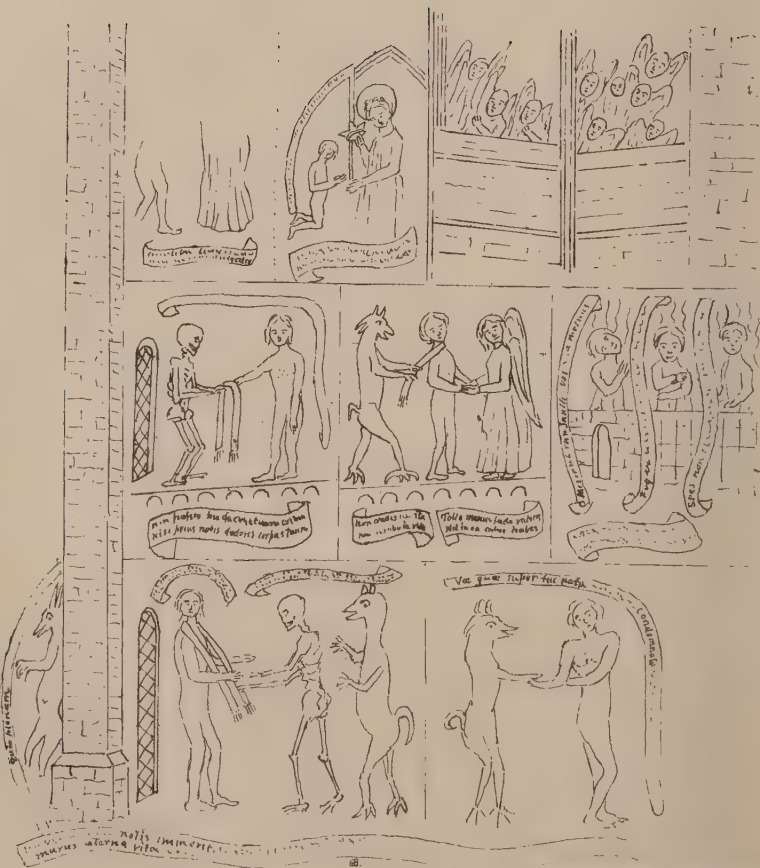
1. Beginning at the left hand upper corner, there may be faintly discerned the traces of a female figure standing before an angel. All traces of inscription above, and the upper parts of the figures, are entirely obliterated; beneath, on a scroll, is written—

*“Quia liberé solvisti tuum debitum
Do ergo tibi liberum exitum.”*

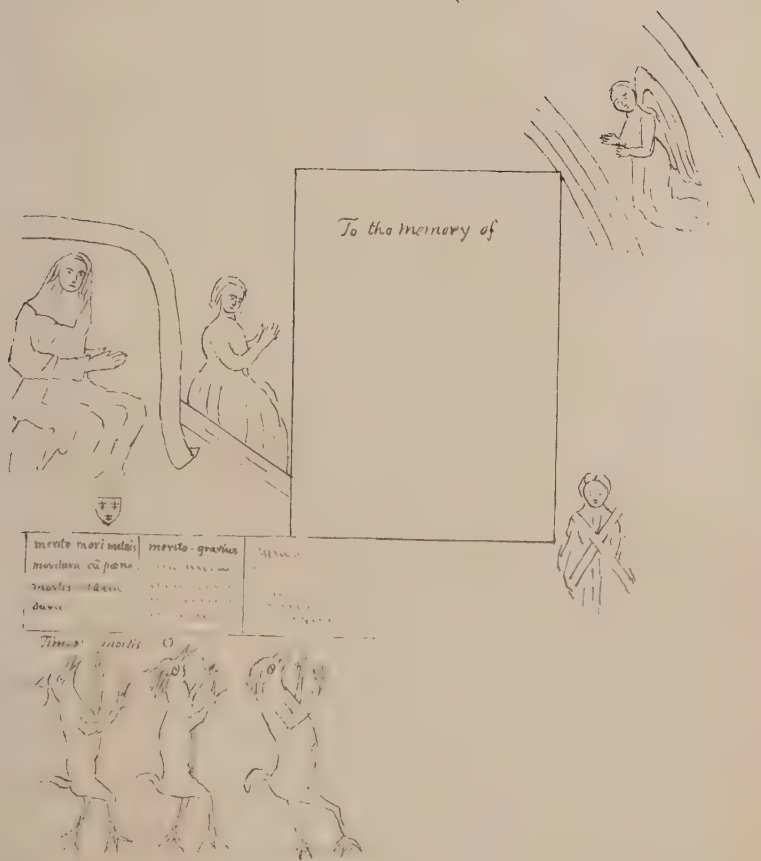
This is intended to represent the case of the perfect man, who is received at once into Paradise after death. Accordingly,

2. Represents the Soul kneeling before our Lord in an attitude of supplication, and our Lord is placing a crown (green and gold, the colour of the nimbus which surrounds his own head) upon the head of the figure before Him. Our Lord is clothed in a rich red dress; there is a scroll above, which is a good deal mutilated and difficult to decipher. Our Lord is sitting in the opening of a chamber.

3. In which, through two open arches or windows, are seen—in the first, two figures, probably angels; in the other, five similar figures, rather smaller, also with



Frescoes in Swanbourne Church.



Frescoes in Swanbourne Church

wings, which either represent angels or the Souls of the Blessed. They are all in an attitude of prayer—*i.e.*, the hands held up together, and the faces denote expectation.

4. The subject of this compartment is, in logical sequence, the first of the series. It represents Death coming out of an archway in the building, which has been said is made the frame of the pictures, and presenting a priest's stole to a female figure, who is putting out her hand to take it. The figure of Death is a grim skeleton, with very white teeth, and some scattered locks of hair; the female figure, which is here and everywhere depicted with a considerable degree of unnecessary coarseness, no doubt according to the usual mode of representation in mediæval pictures, denotes the Soul of Man, and the stole his mortal body, perhaps in allusion to the text, "This body of death." There is a scroll overhead, which no doubt explains the allegory; the only word which is easily deciphered is—

"Indicatr,"

the rest is difficult from blanks and defacements; but beneath is easily read the following scroll:—

"Non poteris hic facere tuum exitum
Nisi prius mihi dederis corpus tuum."

The condition of the perfect has been described above (1); that of the impenitent comes immediately below in (7); this middle stage goes on in the next compartment to depict—

5. The condition of the imperfect penitent, which must be cleansed in purgatory, but is yet delivered from the power of the evil one. This is shown in a very vivid manner by the usual female figure in the middle, between an evil spirit and an angel. The angel holds the hands of the figure, whilst the demon is dragging at the ends of the stole which is round its neck, and the face is turned round in the same direction, very beautifully describing the double character of the imperfect Christian—with his feet set in the Christian path towards heaven, but held back by his bodily propensities, which are more or less still under the dominion of evil. Beneath are scrolls containing the speeches of the two spirits; that under the demon runs thus—

"Non (*evad*) es? a me ita
Me (*sequebar*) is? tu in vita."

whilst the angel says—

“Tolle manum fœda tabes
Nil in ea, vilis, habes.”

6. In the sixth compartment are seen three Souls in purgatory, with mottoes. The first—

“Miseremini mei Sancti, vos amici mei.”

The second—

“Angele nos in hoc igne.”

The third—

“Spero mox in”

7. In the lowest stage on the left hand, is seen the female coming forth from a doorway with the stole round her neck, which Death is taking off, whilst an evil spirit is standing behind Death. She is saying—

“Misera cui tam cito venisti
Anteq^m penitentem me invenisti,”

Whilst Death replies—

“N (*on solvisti*) ? debitum tuum merite
(*Dab*) is ? tamen (*corpore*) ? tuæ vitæ.”

This deciphering seems doubtful. All the Latin, though jingling, is purely expressed.

8. The evil spirit is leading off the figure reluctant, whilst overhead is written the scroll, which is imperfect.

“(Væ) ? quæ nuper fui nata cōdempnata (*sic*).”

9. Which is entirely effaced, no doubt represented souls in torment ; but no trace is left.

Beneath all is a long scroll, much mutilated, of which may be read at the commencement—

“ . . . is nobis tu merit
Munus æternæ vitæ”

The size of this composition is about nine or ten feet square. Immediately to the left of it was no doubt a representation of our Lord sitting in judgment ; a part of the nimbus surrounding the throne is visible, and two sets of angels on each side above, of which some drapery remains, and the trace of inscriptions perfectly illegible ; below, at the foot of the throne is a poor, small figure of St. Andrew, sitting with his cross ; and below all, part

really of the first composition, is an evil spirit standing at the foundation of the building, with an inscription, illegible for the most part, but containing the words

“ . . . quia plenam . . . ”

From whence it may be conjectured as relating to the full doom the wicked must expect.

All this portion of the painting is spoilt by the mural tablet before mentioned having been let into the wall in the middle of it.

To the left again may be seen a figure with a red cowl, possibly St. Peter, seated praying, with an inscription before him which is much mutilated, but perhaps with difficulty to be deciphered, and in front of this figure a female figure clothed praying, either seated or kneeling. Perhaps this represents the founder of the north aisle, or the donor of the painting; immediately beneath are some arms, argent, three double crosslets sable, and beneath again, three evil spirits rampant, with their names over them, two quite unreadable; the one to the right is—

“Timor mortis,”

and over it, on a square tablet, this legend:—

“Merito mori metuis moritura
Cum pœna mortis sit tam dura.”

Beneath all is an inscription in English, seven or eight lines deep, which unfortunately is too much mutilated to be read, all that can be readily deciphered is—

“ Man lyvyth to dye
. . . . in wynde a dream at his fete ”

The imperfect state of this portion is greatly to be regretted.

The painting is well executed, and evidently by a hand used to such representations, at least in all parts in repose, in those in action the drawing is bad.

The colour of the female figure representing the Soul seems conventional, a sort of cinereous tint, but the lips and eyes natural; the angels and our Lord natural. The evil spirits are a dull red, with green in their hair and over their bodies. It was plainly put on after the red was dry, allowing the brush to touch with green only the rough parts of the plaister; the effect is to give a sort of shot green, like the scales of a wizard or dragon.

There seems to have been a great deal of colour used in the church, especially in the north aisle; and near the south door might be traced a much mutilated picture of the Crucifixion.

BUILDING OF WYCOMBE CHURCH IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY—MIRACLES OF ST. WULSTAN—AND HEATHENISM AT WYCOMBE AND BERKHAMPTSTEAD.

William of Malmesbury, in his "Life and Miracles of St. Wulstan," who was the last of the Saxon bishops, and presided over the diocese of Worcester from A.D. 1062 to 1097, records two miracles which he is said to have performed at a town called *Wicumbe*, the identity of which place with High Wycombe is sufficiently established by its situation in the diocese of Lincoln, and on the high road from Worcester and Oxford to London. The only printed edition of Malmesbury's work (in Wharton's "Anglia Sacra," 2 vols. folio, 1691), omits the chapters in which these incidents are related, and supplies their place by a short and incorrect abstract.* I have, therefore, carefully copied the extracts from the best manuscript (Harleian MS., No. 322), extended the text, and appended an English translation. It will be seen that the stories were taken from the work of Coleman (the same personage who figures in the second story, and was at the same time the chaplain and biographer of the saint), and, consequently, stand at second-hand in the narrative of Malmesbury. In the first story, it is evident that a fortunate escape from serious danger was

* Wharton's abridgment is as follows:—Lib. ii., cap. 8, "Miraculum de discrimine incendii Wicumbæ evaso." Cap. 9, "Quomodo Ecclesiam Wicumbæ ab oppidano Spurt Lunser dicto ædificatam, concedente id Remigio Ep. Lincoln., dedicavit: et viri pedissequam ab iniquo morbo liberaverit." The incorrectness of the *Anglia Sacra* has no parallel in the history of letters: it is said to contain an error for every line. In it is also to be found one of the earliest literary performances of a native of Buckinghamshire, William of Wycumbes "Life of Bishop Betun," written in the eleventh century. I hope at some future time to draw attention to this worthy, his profound learning, stern morals, and singular writings.

immediately invested by the admirers of the good bishop with a supernatural character, and reverently set down as a miracle; and the second story, in its main points, has equally the air of verisimilitude. The wealthy Saxon, building a church, and procuring its consecration at the hands of the holy Wulstan, the license obtained from Bishop Remigius, the sermon and confirmation, the modesty of the matron in the bishop's presence, and the symptoms of an aggravated case of *glossitis*, are related with all the simplicity of Defoe: the cure belongs to thaumaturgy proper, and may be interpreted by the sceptical or mystical theory, as the reader likes. One unlucky fact, however, must be mentioned. St. Wulstan died in 1097, and the date of the consecration of the church is limited, by the bishopric of Remigius, to the interval between the years 1070 and 1092. The celebrated discovery of the head of the Holy Lance was made in the church of St. Peter, at Antioch, during the perilous occupation of that city by the Crusaders, between the third and twenty-eighth days of June, 1098.* As there can be no reasonable doubt as to the identity of the Holy Lance of the miracle with that of history, this insuperable discrepancy overthrows the authority of the story, unless we take the only alternative left, which the suspicious construction of the last sentence seems to favour, and assume that the account has been slightly embellished by the pen of William of Malmesbury.

"GUIL. MALMESBURIENSIS DE VITA ET MIRACULIS SANCTI WULSTANI, EPISC. WIGORN.—Lib. ii., cap. 8, 9. (Harl. MS., No. 322, p. 94.)

"Lundonium ad curiam proficiscens, apud villam *Wicumbæ* dictam veteris tecti et ruinam minantis hospitium suscepit. Mane autem, cum iter meditaretur corripere, domus crepitare, tignaue cum trabibus deorsum vergere ceperunt. Turbati servientes omnes foras exilierunt, solum dominum intus oblit: adeo considerata formido mentes eorum perculerat. Jam ultra foris positi, memores domini sui inclamant cum magnis vocibus ut exiret antequam edes tota corrueret: nemo eum ut educeret intrare presumpsit. At ille, scuto fidei munitus, stetit immobilis; et virtute viri impendens ruina suspensa est, donec omnibus extractis, sarcinulisque impositis, animalia promoverentur. Tunc vir sanctus pedem domo extulit,

* Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," vol. xi., p. 73. Ed. 1815.

statimque horribico fragore domus tota concussa, parietes et tectum in unum rudenum chaos confudit.

"Hic ponit Colemannus miraculum in eadem villa exhibitum, annis quidem posterius sex, veneratione dignum. Erat enim vir quidam Spordignus nomine, opibus affluentibus fortunatus, et in Sancti reverentia pernotus. Hic sumptibus suis construxerat ecclesiam, quam a nullo nisi a Wulstano voluit consecrari. Quod quum inconsulto diocesis illius episcopo fieri non posset, licentiam a Remigio episcopo Lincolnensi impetravit. Dieque statuta venit episcopus, et dedicatione ecclesie sermoni ad populum, confirmationi puerorum, sollicitam curam impendit. Quibus explicitis, domum viri pransurus ingreditur.

"Tum materfamilias verens cum episcopo colloquium serere, Colemannt auribus dolorem suum exponit. Pedissequam suam gravi morbo thabescere, ut-pote cujus capud infando tumore lasciviat, et lingua extra palati concavum promineat. Linguam ipsam ita protuberare ut magis videatur esse bovis quam hominis; victum ei omnem negatum, et si quid sumatur, esse cibum dentibus comasticatum, sive potum cocleari infusum.

"Colemannus rem Episcopo insinuavit. Habebat ille aureum unum, cuspidem Lancee Salvatoris perforatum, quem intinxit in aquam quam eo die prius ad consecrationem ecclesie benedixerat, et mulicreule direxit. Bibit, et medicalem potum sanitas matura subsecuta est, sicut matrona eidem Colemannto post aliquot dies et ipsa jurata et testibus nixa asseruit."

"As he was journeying to the Court at London, he lodged at a town called *Wicumbe*, and slept in an old house whose ruinous appearance threatened a speedy fall. And in the morning, when he was about to recommence the journey, the building began to crack, and the rafters and beams to give way downwards. All the servants jumped out of doors in a fright, so panic-struck as to forget altogether that their master was alone within; but once safely out of doors, they remembered him, and shouted loudly to him to come out before the whole building fell down together; but none was brave enough to go in and rescue him. But he, fortified with the buckler of faith, stood calm and immoveable; and by virtue of his sanctity the impending destruction was suspended until the horses and baggage were safely got out and loaded ready for departure. Then the holy man went forth from the building, and immediately the whole house was violently shaken, and fell with a terrible crash, walls and roof, into a chaotic heap of ruins.

"Here Colemannt records another miracle which he wrought in the same town (*Wycombe*), though six years after that just described, which is highly to be venerated. There was a certain man named Spording, of abundant fortune, and a well-known admirer of the saint. He had built a church there, at his own costs, which he resolved should be consecrated by no other than Wulstan, but that could not be done without the permission of the bishop of the diocese, so he obtained license to that effect from Bishop Remigius of Lincoln. On the appointed day, the bishop came and consecrated the church, taking especial pains in preaching to the people,

and confirmation of children. After which he goes to Spording's house to dine.

"Now, the wife of Spording had a maidservant who was afflicted with a grievous disease; her head was horribly swollen, and her tongue was enlarged to the size of an ox's, and protruded from her mouth. She could take no food, except a little meat already masticated for her, or drink poured down her throat with a spoon. The matron feared to enter into conversation with the bishop, but told the circumstance to Coleman.

"Coleman acquainted the bishop with the case. The bishop had a piece of gold, which had been pierced with the head of the Holy Lance; this he took, and dipped in the water which he had previously blessed in the consecration of the church, and gave it the girl to drink. This healing draught was speedily followed by a complete cure, as the matron and other witnesses declared on oath to Coleman some days afterwards."

The last sentence appears to me the weakest point in the story. If Coleman saw the matron, and examined her and other witnesses on oath, what could prevent him from seeing the girl herself, and thus satisfying himself perfectly as to the completeness of the cure?

Spording had planted, and Wulstan watered; but the people of Wycombe remained attached to a common piece of Paganism, which Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, a century after, had some difficulty in persuading them to relinquish. St. Hugh, says his biographer, was an implacable enemy to superstition; so was St. Martin; and he proceeds to draw a parallel between the two bishops—

"*Superstitiones ritusque sacrilegos longe lateque eliminavit ille: similiter eliminavit et iste. De quibus licet brevitatis gratia superius parce dixerimus, Norhamtonia tamen latronis, Bereamestuda, Wicumbia, et alia quædam loca fontium culturam, Hugone acriter decertante, postposuisse noscuntur.*"—*Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 348.

"* * * * We know that Northampton laid aside the worship of a Robber (*i.e.*, some Teutonic hero-deity), and Berkhamptstead and Wycombe gave up the worship of springs, through Hugh's vigorous exertions."

I have no doubt that the powerful spring which rises at the east end of the Rye, close to the Roman villa, is the one alluded to. It was called Holy-well through the middle ages, and the adjoining meadow is still called Halliwell Mead.

EDWARD JOHN PAYNE.

Obituary.

REV. HENRY ROUNDELL.

A brief notice, appended to the last number of the "Records," informed the members of the Bucks Archæological Society of their great loss, in the death of the Rev. Henry Roundell, M.A. The event took place at Walton Hall, near Bletchley, on December 26, 1864. It was very sudden. The last sheet of the last number had scarcely passed through the press, ere the hand which had assisted in preparing it was still in death.

A few words in affectionate remembrance of that good and gentle and accomplished man will be grateful to his friends, and may not be unacceptable to those who, though they may not have had the privilege of his acquaintance, have often derived instruction and pleasure from his literary labours.

HENRY ROUNDELL, son of the Rev. H. D. Roundell, was born at Fringford Rectory, Oxfordshire, August 31, 1824. Having received his education first at Charterhouse, London, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford, he was ordained at Exeter, March 4, 1849, his first pastoral charge being the curacy of St. Kerrian and St. Petrock, in that city. The writer of this notice well remembers the gratitude with which in after years Mr. Roundell used to speak of his first flock. Most clergymen know the peculiar and powerful impression which the scene of their first ministry produces. With this amiable and warm-hearted man it was both vivid and permanent, and he could scarcely recall it without tears. He married, June 12, 1851, Laura Frances, youngest daughter of Richard Cornish, Esq., of Heavitree, near Exeter, and has left her with three young children, Laura, Currer, and Mary, to mourn his loss. About this time he became Assistant Curate of Buckingham, the Rev. T. Silvester being then Vicar. Upon Mr. Silvester's death, in 1853, Mr. Roundell was instituted to the Vicarage of that parish; and in this position he remained till 1862, having also filled the office of Rural Dean during the last two or three years of his residence there, with great acceptance to the clergy and churchwardens of that district.

The continued labours and anxieties of this important charge soon began to tell upon a constitution which was never very robust; and at length in the early part of 1862 he was almost persuaded to accept a small living, that of Ivybridge, in Devonshire,—the inducements being the uncertain state of his health, the hope of benefit from a warmer climate, and the lighter labours of a small parish. But his parishioners at Buckingham knew his value, and an earnest memorial was at once set on foot and numerously signed, affectionately soliciting him to remain. This entreaty seems to have turned the scale; and in an answer to the memorialists, in which he announces his intention of yielding to their wishes, he says—"I felt I could nowhere else hope for the same support, friendship, and kindly interpretation of motive; and I could not, therefore, except for the paramount necessity of health, sever ties so strong." . . .

"But I must not forget that the future is uncertain. I must not conceal from myself the possibility either that my own health may fail to be re-established, or that the responsibility of so large a parish may become too oppressive." . . . "The time may come when a change may be desirable—a change, which, if it occurs at all, will only be made from a sense of duty, and with the deepest reluctance on my part."

These were his words in February, 1862. At the close of that same year the necessity arrived, and that "sense of duty" which was with him always his motive of action, constrained him to withdraw from a post which he loved, but which he felt that he could no longer fill with his accustomed assiduity and efficiency. He resigned the vicarage of Buckingham in October, 1862.

But an idle life would have been insupportable to him, and he still clung to the hope that after a short period of rest and relaxation, he might yet be able to do some service for God and His Church. With this in view, he retired for some months to a country residence in Yorkshire. But all the time his heart was in Buckinghamshire; and no sooner did he feel his health somewhat renewed than he began to inquire for a home in the neighbourhood where he had made so many friends, and where the greater part of his ministerial life had been spent. In the course of 1864 he became the occupier of Walton Hall, near Bletchley. Here he at once offered himself for active service in such labours as his bodily strength would permit; and to the great satisfaction of the Committee of this Society, he became one of its Secretaries, a position for which his varied acquirements and sound judgment and accurate habits eminently qualified him. But alas! the end was close at hand. He had returned to his home on the evening of December 22nd much exhausted, when the malady which had been for some years undermining his constitution, reappeared in an aggravated form, and he sank rapidly in three days.

His life was comparatively a brief one. But few men have enjoyed during a short existence on earth a wider or more hearty friendship. The qualities which endeared him to his little flock at Exeter were not less appreciated at Buckingham. A gentleman, no less in mind and feeling than by birth,—with ample means, and the will to employ them for the good of others,—combining with great energy and steadfastness of purpose, a never-failing tact and much courtesy—with a mind that was at home with the highest and most intellectual, and a heart that could stoop to the wants and sorrows of the humblest and most afflicted; and moreover, with great powers of administration,—it is no wonder that he accomplished much, and that he accomplished it by drawing to himself the sympathies of all classes of his parishioners. In his politics he was Conservative; but his was not a blind or unreasonable Conservatism; it was a Conservatism which was always subordinate to greater and higher interests—the cause of God, and the welfare of His Church. His faith in the church of Christ was ardent, and his allegiance to it most loyal; and he felt that this is, indeed, the divinely-appointed instrument by which men are to be drawn together and elevated, and purified. His love of literature has already been alluded to, and his industry in these pursuits is shown in the pages of these "Records," to which, notwithstanding the laborious duties of a large parish, he was a frequent and successful contributor. His acquaintance with natural history was considerable; and he was also an excellent numismatist. Indeed, Archaeology in all its branches seemed to have a special charm for him. He would spare no pains in investigating subjects of this kind. He was patient, exact, and conscientious in his researches, and his information was, therefore, always trustworthy. Nor was he less generous in imparting his knowledge, than careful in procuring it. It seemed to afford him

special pleasure to invite other literary men to partake with him of the "fruit of his labours." In this, as in all the transactions of his life, there was a simplicity of character, an utter absence of selfishness, a true nobility of disposition by which, while living, he instructed, and being dead he yet speaks to us. The Rev. W. H. Kelke, in a letter to the writer of this notice, written not long after Mr. Roundell's death, says—"I have seldom if ever met with any literary man so ready to assist others engaged in pursuits similar to his own. He not only freely lent me rare books and pamphlets, but he placed his own private notes in my hands, with full permission to make any use of them I pleased. And these notes are exceedingly valuable as the results of laborious and careful research among masses of MSS. in the British Museum, and might save a literary man days of fruitless toil. He took to himself no credit for this liberality, which was the result of genuine kindness, and of an anxious desire to develope truth, and to throw light on obscure facts. At the sale of Mr. Nicholls's books, last summer, he purchased three large volumes of views illustrative of Bucks; and before even using them himself, he left them with me for three or four months, with permission to make copies from them." Mr. Kelke adds—"His extensive and accurate knowledge of antiquities, both early and mediæval, his excellent judgment, his refined taste, and the perspicuity of his style, were calculated in my opinion to raise the standard of our 'Records.'"

This testimony will show how much the Society has lost by the removal of Mr. Roundell. What his family have lost we will not venture to say. The sorrow within the circle of his own relatives is too sacred and too recent to be intruded upon. But it may soothe them to know that beyond those hallowed limits the name of HENRY ROUNDELL is enshrined in the memory of a multitude of grateful and affectionate friends. He has passed out of our sight for a while; but he will re-appear, we humbly hope, with all good and true-hearted men, in the joyful resurrection of the just.

E. B.

GEORGE GRENVILLE WANDESFORD PIGOTT, Esq.

GEORGE GRENVILLE WANDESFORD PIGOTT, Esq., of Doddershall Park, the eldest son of William Pigott, Esq., by Anne, daughter of the Rev. W. King, of Mallow, county of Cork, was born in 1796, and had completed his sixty-eighth year at the time of his decease. He was educated at Rugby, and entered upon military service in 1812. Having followed the profession of a soldier till 1823, he was then called to diplomatic service, in which he continued till 1830. In 1830 Mr. Pigott was elected Member of Parliament for St. Maw's, Cornwall, under the patronage of the Marquis of Buckingham, whose influence there was paramount; and he continued to represent that borough until the Reform Bill of 1832 cut the position from under his feet. In 1845, through the influence of the same noble family, he was appointed Poor-law Commissioner, the duties of which office he contrived to discharge with unwearied industry and integrity, until very nearly the close of his life.

Mr. Pigott added to these duties of a more public character several others more immediately connected with his own county and neighbourhood. He was a Magistrate and Deputy-Lieutenant for Bucks, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Bucks Militia. More recently he was appointed President of the County Infirmary, to which chair he was called by the unanimous and hearty suffrages of the governors, in 1863. This office he resigned at Midsummer last, when he was succeeded by the Rev. C. Erle.

Mr. Pigott was twice married. His first wife was Charlotte, daughter of Edward Long, Esq., of Hampton Lodge, Surrey. The marriage took place Oct. 26, 1822. It was but a short step, however, from the bridal chamber to the tomb. She died at Torquay, of a rapid consumption, in the following March; and an epitaph on a mural slab in the chancel of Quainton Church records in a few touching sentences the sorrow of the young officer upon his bereavement. Mr. Pigott married, secondly, Oct. 30th, 1838, Charlotte, youngest daughter of William Lloyd, Esq., of Aston, Shropshire. By this marriage he has left behind him a daughter and a son, who with their widowed mother, now weep over their loss. His son, William Harvey, the young heir of Doddershall, was born in 1848, and is now in the Royal Navy.

This brief record will show how wide an experience Mr. Pigott had of the honourable pursuits and occupations of men of birth and education; and it is but due to him to state that he acquitted himself in them all as a man of unimpeachable integrity, of thorough gentlemanly feeling, and of high Christian principle. His was a life of honourable industry; and even his leisure moments were not wasted; for he found time, in his intervals of relaxation from business, for literary pursuits, in which he took a special delight. His knowledge of foreign languages was considerable, and he availed himself of the opportunities presented to him during his residence abroad, for engaging in studies which were congenial to his refined and accomplished mind. Amongst the productions of his pen may be mentioned a little work, entitled "A Manual of Scandinavian Mythology," which shows extensive reading and research. Mr. Pigott's interest in this subject was probably quickened at the time when he was in the diplomatic service at Copenhagen.

As a public man, Mr. Pigott was remarkable for the manly freedom and vigour with which he delivered his opinions. He was a steady supporter of Conservative principles; but there was an absence of prejudice and an honesty of purpose about him which prevented him from ever becoming the mere slave of party. When he spoke in public he was listened to with deference, because the listeners knew that the man who addressed them loved the truth, and could be depended upon. If he looked with becoming pride upon his long pedigree, he seemed always to remember that the highest honour that can attach to an ancient family is the possession of moral worth, and that the true nobility of the landed gentry of England, of which race his line was one of the very oldest, is that character of generosity, independence, and integrity which, through the goodness of God, was so strongly impressed upon himself.

We will not presume to lift up the veil, or attempt to describe Mr. Pigott's character in the more private relations of life. They are best known to the bereaved widow and son and daughter, and other affectionate relatives who now mourn for him. May the sentiment recorded by him in one of the saddest moments of his life, "*Aspettiano il tempo felice*," sustain them in their hour of sorrow; and may his mantle descend upon the youthful heir, who has already shown so much promise, and who, we trust, will worthily hold and transmit the honoured name of the house of PIGOTT.

Mr. Pigott died at 4, Upper Grosvenor Street, London, Jan. 4th, 1865. He was on his way to the Continent, in the hope of recruiting his health, which had been failing for the last few years. He was buried at Quainton in the most simple and unostentatious manner.

E. B.

THE REV. WILLIAM HASTINGS KELKE.

April 12th, 1865.—At the Limes, Little Missenden, the Rev. William Hastings Kelke, aged sixty-two years.

The deceased was born at Stoney Stanton, Leicestershire, on the 7th of February, 1803, and was descended from an old Saxon family in Yorkshire, Kelk, or Kelke (indiscriminately, as names went in olden days) from a place of that name in Yorkshire. Through his paternal grandmother, he and his brothers represented an extinct branch of the Hydes, subsequently created Earls of Clarendon. His mother was a daughter of the Rev. Robert Hastings, Vicar of Packington, in Leicestershire, the last male descendant of a branch of the old line of Hastings, earls of Huntingdon. He married Lucy Henrietta, eldest daughter of the late Rev. H. W. Champreys, Rector of Badsworth, Yorkshire, whom he leaves a widow. One child alone survives him—a son, in holy orders.

The subject of this memoir was educated at the old Grammar School of Ashby-de-la-Zouch (immortalized by its connection with the venerated name of Bishop Hall). He subsequently entered Jesus College, Cambridge, as a Rustat* scholar. In May, 1831, he was ordained deacon, by Dr. Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln, and priest in 1833. His title for orders was the curacy of Osgathorpe, in Leicestershire, to which was afterwards added that of Isly Walton, also in Leicestershire. On the death of the Rector of Osgathorpe, in 1836, the late Marquis of Hastings presented him to the living, which he held until the midsummer of 1840, when he exchanged it with the Rev. F. N. Bland for Drayton Beauchamp. There he remained exactly twenty years; and when he resigned this living his friends interested themselves to obtain some preferment for him from the Lord Chancellor, but without success. He then retired to the Limes, Little Missenden, where he spent the remainder of his days.

He was a ripe and accomplished scholar, and an indefatigable Archæologist. He was a man of simple, unaffected piety, specially charitable in his judgment of others, and esteemed by all who knew him. Although his charge was a small sequestered village, and his life one of comparative retirement, he obtained a well-earned reputation as an antiquary. The leisure which he enjoyed in his rural quietude enabled him to devote much of his energy to his favourite pursuit. But his was not the love of things antiquarian for their own sake; he took a wider grasp of the subject, and he valued and pursued archæology as throwing light upon the history of the past, and as being a mould in which to form the present. He did not merely satisfy his intelligent curiosity concerning its remains, but endeavoured to learn from it its especial lessons, feeling assured that the comparison of the present with the past was valuable and interesting, enabling the student to take forecasts of future storms, and to lay down the principles which should be the guide to each succeeding generation.

When the Architectural and Archaeological Society of the County of Buckingham was established, he was one of those who took a large share in its foundation, and he was appointed an Honorary Secretary, and afterwards acted as Editor of the "Records of Buckinghamshire;" these two offices he held until the day of his death. He promoted the objects of the Society with peculiar zeal and cordiality, and with that strict accuracy and earnest painstaking which were the remarkable characteristics of his life.

The following is a list of his contributions to literature :—

* The Rustat scholarships are, with one exception, designed for the sons of deceased clergymen.

"Notices of Sepulchral Monuments in English Churches, from the Norman Conquest to the Nineteenth Century."

"Churchyard Manual."

"Account of two Monumental Effigies found at Chenies."

He contributed several papers to the "Records of Buckinghamshire," and among them an interesting series on the Desecrated Churches in the County. He was also the author of various papers which were published in the "Book of Days."

This is not the place in which to enlarge on Mr. Kelke's paramount interest in the Church of Christ, and more especially in the ecclesiastical institutions of our own country; but in speaking of his writings, it may be mentioned that he was the author also of several tracts, among which may be specified "Britain's Ancient Church," "On the Observance of Christmas-day," "On Garden Allotments," and other contributions to the pages of the "Church of England Magazine." But how silently and unobtrusively he ever sought to influence others for good, few were aware, except those who were privileged to know him in the intimacy of private life.

The death of the Rev. W. H. Kelke was sudden, caused by disease of the heart. On retiring to rest he was seized with spasm and difficulty of breathing; acute pain was his portion for one half hour, when every trace of earthly suffering vanished, and he sank into a calm and peaceful repose,—to wake up, we humbly trust, with those who now "sleep in Jesus," and whom God will bring with Him "in that day."

This obituary memoir, together with those of the other officers of the Society—viz., G. G. W. Pigott, Esq., and the Rev. H. Roundell, are not the only monuments to their memory. The spirit of the men still breathes in the zeal, the labour, the unanimity which survives them. That spirit will appear again and again in future ages when other men, animated by their example, shall endeavour to follow in their steps.

C. L.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

The annual meeting was held August 8th, 1865, at Monks Risborough, an excursion having been first made to Bledlow Cross and Church, Prince's Risborough Church, White Leaf Cross, and Monks Risborough Church. Luncheon was provided in Monks Risborough National School-room; the Rev. T. Evetts, who had hospitably sent an ample supply of wine for the refreshment of the guests, was requested to preside. The Chairman proposed the first toast, "The health of the Queen."

The toast having been duly honoured, the chairman said—Allow me as rector of this parish, representing the clergy of this district, to express the hearty welcome which, as individuals and as a parish, we should wish to give to the meeting of an Archæological Society within our boundaries. It is not for me to enlarge on the merits of Archæological Societies; we know sufficiently well that it must be a good thing for us in the midst of modern haste and the hurried movements around us, to take a little time to look backward to the movements and circumstances of the past. On that ground alone, it must be a wholesome element in our ordinary life that we should have such a meeting as the present. I beg, therefore, without further words, to propose "Success and prosperity to the Archæo-

logical Society," coupled with the name of Archdeacon Bickersteth, as the living embodiment of the Society.

Archdeacon BICKERSTETH, in responding, said—I thank Mr. Evetts very cordially for the kind way in which he has mentioned my name, and you, ladies and gentlemen, for the kind welcome you have given to me on this occasion. It is quite true that I take a deep interest in the success of the Architectural and Archæological Association with which my name is associated. I believe the cultivation of studies like these has a tendency to elevate and purify the mind. We do well, in these days of rapid march, occasionally to pause and look back to other times, and correct our progress in some degree, by such observations. I suppose that of thoughtful, intellectual men, there are some who look always backwards, and others who look sometimes forwards. I believe, myself, that the best condition of mind is that which does look forward, with a due regard also to that which is past, and that it is in that combination that we find the most happy and satisfactory results. A man who always looks to the past, and thinks nothing new worthy of consideration, becomes himself a sort of archæological specimen, to be consigned in due time to the limbo of antiquity. On the other hand, the man who is always looking forward, who has no information from the past to guide his steps, can never preserve a well-balanced course. The man who can bring the light of calm discussion to bear on the past, can eliminate that which is true for all time, and use that as the material out of which to build up the future, is the man best adapted for life in every age. That, I apprehend, is the object of our Society. We are not mere cut and dried specimens, continually looking back to the past. I flatter myself we have some power of looking forward into the future, and that we are able with some success to apply what we have learnt to the purposes of which I have spoken. I cannot but take this opportunity, under this roof and at this board, of congratulating our excellent friend, Mr. Evetts (cheers), most earnestly on the success which he has achieved. He appears to have combined in a remarkable manner the two qualities of mind which I have just now named. Evidently, looking at the noble restoration of his church, which he has effected, he has an eye for the past; and I know that he can look forward to the future when I see how he has enlarged this school-room in order that he may bring the influence of his own cultivated mind to bear as far as possible on the young people of his flock. We should be wanting in kindness and in due regard towards him if we did not on this occasion congratulate him heartily on the great results he has achieved during the two or three years in which he has been residing in this place. If I am not out of order, I will venture, in the name of the Society which I have the honour to represent to-day, to congratulate Mr. Evetts on what he has done here, to express, as archæologists, our utmost approval of the work he has performed, and our earnest desire that it may please God to continue him to be a blessing to this neighbourhood, and that His choicest blessings may rest on himself, on Mrs. Evetts, and his family (cheers).

The Rev. T. EVETTS said—I rise at once to return thanks for the very kind and handsome manner in which my name has been brought before this meeting. I assure you it is a matter of pride and satisfaction to me to have this meeting held in this parish, to find a body of ladies and gentlemen engaged in pursuits so elevating as architecture and archæology, and to find also that they approve of the work which has been done within this parish. The Archdeacon reminded me of a distinction which I heard propounded some years ago, that men are divided into men of hope and men of memory. Perhaps when one is young, one is rather inclined to hope; but when one reaches mature age (though I do not claim to be in

this sense much of an antiquity myself), one is more inclined to dwell on memory than on hope; but whether it be memory or hope that predominates, allow me to say that I heartily recognize the teaching of the brave old English admiral, his last battle signal, "England expects every man to do his duty." Whatever circumstances I find myself in I wish to carry out that teaching; and while the memory of your kindness will dwell with me, there will always be in it likewise an element of hope, the hope of being in some measure worthy of it (cheers).

THE PUBLIC MEETING.

Immediately after luncheon, the General Meeting of the Society was held, the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, D.D., in the chair.

The Secretary, the Rev. C. Lowndes, read the report of the Committee as follows:—

"Your Committee have great satisfaction in coming before the members at their annual meeting with the assurance that the Society is progressing favourably. It has now arrived at the termination of its seventeenth year; and although it has lost a few members by death and resignations, still its numbers annually increase by the influx of new members.

"Amongst those removed by death, since the last annual meeting of the Society at Duddershall, are three of the officers, viz.—G. G. W. Pigott, Esq., vice-president, the Rev. H. Roundell, and the Rev. W. H. Kelke, honorary secretaries—of each of whom an obituary memoir will appear in the next number of the 'Records.'

"Your Committee, after some anxiety and trouble, have much pleasure in recommending for election as Honorary Secretaries the Rev. A. Baker, of Addington, well known and valued in the annals of the Society, and the Rev. W. T. Sankey, of Stony Stratford, who have kindly offered their services.

"Your Committee have received an offer from Mrs. Roundell, widow of the late Honorary Secretary, to place in the Society's Museum, in Aylesbury, on loan, during her life, several articles of local antiquarian interest, a great many books, and a few cases of stuffed birds. They have gladly availed themselves of Mrs. Roundell's kind and generous offer, and given instructions to the Rev. C. Lowndes to express their gratitude and thanks, and to communicate with her on the subject of their removal.

"Your Committee issued in January last a number of the 'Records,' and hope shortly to issue another, which has been delayed in consequence of the printer resigning his post. The three last numbers which have been issued, and which form the commencement of vol. iii., have well sustained the reputation already earned by the Society's 'Records,' a reputation evidenced by the fact that the trade value of the two first volumes, when appearing in booksellers' catalogues, is double the original cost to members."

The Report was adopted.

The Rev. C. Lowndes was appointed treasurer.

The Rev. A. Isham and Z. D. Hunt, Esq., were re-elected Auditors.

The Rev. A. Baker and the Rev. W. T. Sankey, were elected Honorary Secretaries, together with the Rev. C. Lowndes.

The Committee for the past year were re-elected.

The following gentlemen, having been duly proposed and seconded in committee, were elected members of the Society:—Sir A. de Rothschild, Bart., Aston Clinton; Hon. Percy Barrington, Westbury Manor; James Board, Esq., the Abbey, Great Missenden; Rev. A. C. Green, Loughton;

Rev. G. H. Bullock, Chalfont St. Peter ; Rev. A. F. Birch, Edlesborough ; Rev. E. T. Drake, Amersham ; Rev. T. Little, Princes Risborough ; Rev. C. F. Wyatt, Forest Hill, Oxford ; Rev. J. Graves, Brandenham House ; Rev. J. Baines, Little Marlow ; Rev. G. W. Cruttenden, Little Kimble ; F. Straw, Esq., the Abbey, Aston Abbots ; L. W. Wethered, Esq., O. P. Wethered, Esq., T. O. Wethered, Esq., Great Marlow ; T. A. Warren, Esq., Princes Risborough ; Joseph Parrott, Esq., Aylesbury ; Mr. J. Reynolds, Aylesbury.

A letter was read from Colonel Astley stating that Lady F. Russell would be very glad to forward the wishes of the Society should they visit Chequers' Estate, and specially directing attention to Piccadilly Hill.

The ARCHDEACON, referring to the name Piccadilly, said we were familiar with it chiefly as the name of an important street in Westminster. As this was formerly a fashionable promenade, some persons had derived the name from the "piccadell" (dim. of "picca"), the term applied to the small spear-like ornaments embroidered of old on the collars of gentlemen's doublets, or on ladies' flounces. But, as a common-sense body of inquirers, they might find a more simple and natural interpretation. He was not aware till recently that there was another Piccadilly in the Chilterns, the centre one of the three conical hills near Ivinghoe. The Vicar of Ivinghoe, Mr. Hamilton, told him that he had heard it called by the old people "Peaked Hill;" and this he thought was something like a reasonable etymology, which would equally apply to Piccadilly in London, for any one who looked from the Thames up the slope of the Park would see that Piccadilly was in fact a very elevated ground. It might be noticed that the Peak, in Derbyshire, is not a single point, but an elevated tract of country, embracing two or three parishes.

Some books were exhibited which had been discovered in the chancel of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Addington, during the restoration about five years ago. One of them was the last edition of Henry VIII.'s revised Primer (1540), the only other known copy being in the Roman Catholic College at Stonyhurst. A detailed account of this discovery will be given in a future number of the "Records."

The Rev. C. Lowndes read a letter from Admiral Smyth on the subject of "Robberies in Sacred Edifices." The Rev. T. Evetts gave an account of the "White Leaf and Bledlow Crosses," and "Monks Risborough Parish and Church;" and Mr. J. E. Payne read papers on the "Roman Villa at High Wycombe," and on "Local Etymology."

The Rev. B. Burgess said that the excavations at the Roman villa at High Wycombe were specially interesting to him, for last year he assisted in discovering a villa at Latimers. One room had a margin of white tesserae, but the middle was gone; there were the remains of a large hypocaust; he found only two coins—one of Constantine, and the other a British imitation of a Roman coin; and an ivory hair-pin.



Market Cross at Quainton, Bucks.

ANCIENT STONE CROSSES,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THOSE IN THE
COUNTY OF BUCKINGHAM.

(Read at the Annual Meeting at Doddershall, in the parish of Quainton,
by the Rev. W. HASTINGS KELKE.)

Entering Quainton at the lower end of the square or market-place, a stranger can hardly fail to be struck with the primitive appearance of the place, and with that striking, but, in these days, uncommon object, its venerable stone cross. And every native of the village who, in his childhood, has perhaps gambolled on its steps, and to whom through life it has continued an object of interest, may have often desired to know something of its origin, and for what purpose it was placed there.

Although I have but little to say particularly respecting the Quainton cross, I have drawn up the following brief historical sketch in the hope of throwing some light upon this ancient relic, and others of a similar description in the county.

The general subject of stone crosses is so interesting and comprehensive, that to treat it fully would fill a volume. Within the compass, therefore, of this short paper I must necessarily deal with the subject in a very cursory and superficial manner.

Stone pillars, bearing the figure of the cross, appear to have been occasionally in use among unconverted Romans; but in such cases it is generally apparent from the devices on them, or from other indications, that they were of Pagan execution. My remarks will be strictly confined to such crosses as were evidently designed to symbolize the Christian faith, by reminding the beholder of the crucified Redeemer; and these may be conveniently noticed under the respective heads of Churchyard Crosses, Wayside Crosses, and Market Crosses.

Churchyard Crosses were probably the earliest stationary crosses used in Britain, for the first Christian missionaries usually erected a cross to mark and consecrate

the places where they assembled their flocks for prayer and instruction. These places were commonly surrounded by a bank and ditch, or other fence, and thus they became open-air sanctuaries, many of which probably remained in the same state till the Norman conquest, or to a later period. Churches, however, were often built within these enclosures, which thus became churchyards, and the cross became what we call a churchyard cross, though both existed before the church. As the old crosses decayed, many being of wood, others were erected, for churchyards still continued to be held sacred, and whenever new churches were built, their yards or surrounding enclosures were consecrated and stone crosses erected in them. These crosses usually consisted of a stone pillar, surmounted by a cross, and fixed in a basement of three or more steps. In size and elaboration they varied considerably. Some were not more than three feet high, others towered far above the church; some were quite plain, others were richly ornamented, the shaft being covered with interlaced work, and the head formed of an ornamental cross, or of niches containing images, and projecting so as to have the appearance of a cross. But churchyard crosses, I believe, were never built, like many others, large enough to contain rooms. The object of these crosses was to inspire reverence for the churchyard, as consecrated to God and appropriated to the sepulture of departed Christians. They were also designed to excite a devout and reverential spirit in persons about to enter the church, so that it became the practice with many to kneel before the cross, and offer there a short prayer, preparatory to joining in the service of the sanctuary. It is also stated, that occasionally the priest, standing on the step of the cross, thence addressed his parishioners on the shortness and uncertainty of human life, pointing to the graves before him to make his exhortation the more impressive. Sometimes two or more crosses are found in the same churchyard, the additional ones being either to provide more kneeling room, or being special memorials to eminent persons, or perhaps dedicated to particular saints.

Buckinghamshire still possesses the remains of crosses in the churchyards of Hillesden, Wing, Boarstall, Lins-

lade, Stone, Bledlow, Mursley, and Dinton.* That of Hillesden is in the best state of preservation, and appears to have been a handsome structure. It consists of a shaft, on a graduated basement of three heights. The lowest is one foot four inches high; the second, only ten inches, probably meant for a kneeling step; and the third, which is one foot nine inches high, is splayed and ornamented. The shaft, which is octagon, and seven feet seven inches high, has been surmounted by an ornamented head, now much mutilated. This cross derives additional interest from standing near the large grave or pit in which the Royalists were buried, who fell at the siege of Hillesden House, on the 3rd of March, 1643.†

At Boarstall the steps alone of the cross remain; but Delafield says, that in his remembrance the cross was almost entire, so that its present deplorable condition is not owing to the Iconoclasts of the Reformation or the civil wars. Dinton, Stone, and Mursley have, I believe, only the steps remaining."

Wayside Crosses, which were among the earliest stone crosses erected in England, were in use as early as, if not earlier than, the Roman period. Cornwall, where it is well known Christianity flourished at an early date, abounds in wayside crosses, some of which evidently belong to the Roman period. Two examples may be specified: one a small massive cross, with the image of the Saviour rudely sculptured on it—this stands in the parish of St. Buryan, near the Land's End; the other, which has been used as a gate-post, stands in the parish of St. Clement's, near Truro. These are assigned by Mr. Haslam to the fourth or fifth century. At the beginning of the Saxon period, as we learn from Bede, it was customary to erect a cross wherever it was intended

* The circumstances under which this paper was prepared precluded the possibility of obtaining anything like a correct list of the crosses yet remaining in Buckinghamshire. It was the intention of the writer, had his life been spared, to have obtained fuller information on this head.

† The cross in Wing churchyard, of which Mr. Ouvry, the vicar, has kindly presented a photograph, appears to be a very ancient and interesting one. The shaft, which stands upon a stone slab, is square, but with the corners chamfered, and four feet nine inches in height. A portion of it has been cut off, and a sundial now occupies the top. It is evidently deserving of more attentive examination.

to build a church or a monastery; and that wayside crosses were in frequent use during the Saxon times cannot be doubted, from the number of examples still existing, especially in Cornwall and the northern counties. And many more would have still been in existence had they not been lately broken up by notable housewives and used as sand-stone for their cottage-floors and entrance steps to houses. They are generally much ornamented with interlaced cord or knot-work, often combined with figures.

During the mediæval period wayside crosses became still more numerous. They were placed by the side of the most frequented roads, especially where two or more roads met, to excite holy aspirations in every passer-by. They were raised on the wild, dreary moor, by the lonely foot-path, to cheer and encourage the weary, solitary traveller, by reminding of "Him who is as a hiding-place from the wind and a covert from the tempest." They were placed over, or near to, the forest-well to betoken the purity of its waters; they were reared as guide-posts to direct the pilgrim to his destined object; they were used as boundary-marks to parishes and counties; and they were erected to commemorate events associated with the places where they stood. The primary object of these crosses is thus quaintly given by an old writer in 1496: "For this reason ben crosses by ye way, that whan folk passynge see the crosses they sholde thynke on Hym that deyed on the crosse, and worshyppe Hym above all thynges." Most of these wayside crosses, as thus intimated, were intended to awaken devotion in the passer-by for his own sake; but some were chiefly designed to excite his prayers for others—for some person who had suddenly expired on that spot, or had been there killed in battle, or murdered; or because the body of some distinguished person had there rested on its way to burial. Of this class were the beautiful crosses erected by Edward I. in honour of his beloved Queen Eleanor, who died at Lincoln, A.D. 1290, where her body was embalmed, and then conveyed by short stages to Westminster Abbey for burial. "In every place and town," says Walsingham, "where the corpse rested, the King commanded a cross of admirable workmanship to be erected to the Queen's memory, that prayers might be

offered for her soul by all passengers ; in which cross he caused the Queen's image to be depicted." Walsingham thus clearly points out the object of memorial wayside crosses. It was not, like ordinary wayside crosses, merely to inspire devotion in the passer-by, but to invite special prayer for the defunct person whom the cross commemorated.

I am afraid there is not a single wayside cross, or the remains of one, now left in this county, although they were probably once as numerous here as elsewhere. We all know that an Eleanor cross formerly stood at Stony Stratford, but we know not when it was destroyed, or the character of its architectural features. I believe there is no contemporaneous view or description of it, but we may conclude it was not unworthy of its fellow-erections, though it is said not to have been so stately as some of them.

Market Crosses, as they are commonly called, owed their origin to the Emperor Constantine. "For as soon as ever he had vanquished the tyrant, Maxentius," says an old writer, "he returned to Rome, and first of all, he gave his thanks to the Author of victory ; then afterwards he set up His cross in the market-place, to the end it might remain a testimony of the power of God ; that whosoever did behold the same might by and by conceive of whose religion this Emperor was, and in whose name he overcame his foes . . . that by this outward means he might draw them by a little and little to think better of Christ, and so to serve Him." From this we gather that crosses originally were not erected in market-places to confer any sanction or importance on the market, but that they might be the more conspicuous objects and seen by the greater number of persons. And for the same purpose almost every town and village in England had a cross erected in the market-place, on the green, or in some other place of common resort. In course of time these crosses, whether in towns or villages, became associated with other purposes. Proclamations were read at them, public and parochial business was transacted, and many private engagements effected. For the object of the cross here was to remind persons of their Christian duties towards one another—that here, where the temptation to fraud and deceit most

prevailed, they must remember Him who has said, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them." Thus, whatever was done before the town-cross was considered as especially binding and sacred. During the Commonwealth market crosses were used for a novel purpose. In the year 1653 an Act was passed enjoining marriages to be effected before Justices of the Peace, and by virtue of this Act the banns of matrimony were often published, and some marriages celebrated, at market crosses. We may conclude that, to prevent these marriages from any semblance of a religious character, the crosses were previously deprived of the Christian symbol.

Market and village crosses appear originally to have been very plain and simple, like the Quainton cross. Afterwards they were ornamented; then elaborately constructed and decorated, resembling the Eleanor crosses; and, finally, after the decay of architecture, they became mere market-houses, more or less ugly, but still bearing the name of market cross, as many hideous market-houses do to the present day. The market cross at Leighton Buzzard is a handsome structure; but the most beautiful and magnificent one I know is that at Winchester. Some towns had two or more crosses, as Sandbach, which has two standing together; and Leland speaks of three at Brackley, in different parts of the town, probably where different markets were held.

I know of but two market crosses now existing in this county—those of Buckingham and Quainton. The Quainton cross apparently occupies its original position, and is in the best state of preservation, though it has been sadly neglected. It is made of sand or grit-stone, its shaft is octagon, and, though deprived of its head and arms, is four feet three inches high from the pedestal step, and eight feet six inches from the surrounding ground. The bottom step is about eight feet square, and sixteen inches high. There is no sculpture or ornamentation whatever about it. But plain though it be in itself, it is ornamental to the village, and well deserves to receive from the inhabitants a little more care and attention.

The market cross at Buckingham is chiefly remarkable for its wandering propensities, and its travels and adven-

tures have been so well narrated by the Rev. Henry Roundell, late vicar of Buckingham, that I cannot do better than refer to his account.

From this slight sketch it will be readily conceived how numerous stone crosses were spread over the country. It was almost impossible to avoid the sight of them. On the public highway and by the lonely foot-path, in the busy market-place and amid the stillness of each hallowed spot, the symbol of redemption met the gaze of the passer-by, reminding him of the Christian's blessings, his duties and his responsibilities. How far this profusion of symbolic teaching would be desirable in the present day is an open question, but few will doubt its expediency in that unlettered age when printing was unknown, and few, even of the upper classes, were able to read manuscript. And if this practice became abused and led to evil, such a result is only too common with many other excellent provisions. But the relics of these ancient crosses, now more in danger of being despised than idolized, are far from being useless. Sadly mutilated as they generally are, from them the sculptor and the architect may glean much of the history and progress of their respective arts; and from the beautiful designs and elaborate ornamentation of many of them, they may gather several valuable hints.

But these old relics are especially interesting to the Christian student. By them he may trace the existence of our faith, century by century, from the present day almost up to its first introduction into Britain, and thus they form a most valuable adjunct to history. In some respects the ancient cross is more convincing than history itself. It is free from the errors, the prejudices, and other infirmities of authors and transcribers. It stands forth an indubitable witness, and says to us, "Your remote ancestors who placed me here were Christians like yourselves," while their existence among us at the present day prove that neither the Paganism of the Roman, the Saxon, or the Dane was able entirely to extinguish British Christianity in our island. The destruction of one of these ancient crosses may therefore be regarded, in addition to the profaneness of the act, as obliterating a chapter of history.

And here let me remark, in conclusion, that the true

province of archæology does not consist, as some persons have supposed, in collecting relics of antiquity as mere objects of curiosity; but, in studying, elucidating, and so arranging them as to form waymarks to the historian that he may travel back through the past ages without materially deviating from the beaten track of our ancestors.

ROMAN VILLA AT WYCOMBE.

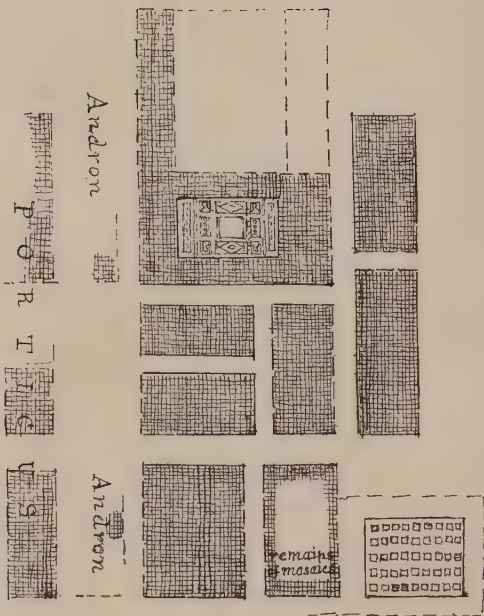
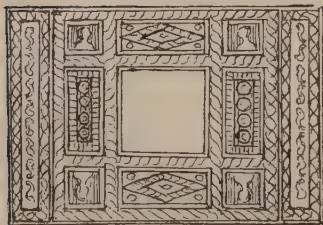
(Read at the Annual Meeting at Monks Risborough, by E. J. PAYNE.)

In the year 1724, a Roman pavement was discovered in a meadow called Penn's Mead, belonging to Lord Shelburne; but the finders do not appear to have searched for any further remains, or to have taken any further interest in the matter than to cause the event to be recorded in the Borough Registers. The pavement, according to the Municipal Register No. 3, was set in the patterns common to Roman pavements, with an animal in the centre like a dog, standing by a tree. A Mr. John Bates, a draper in the town, employed John Rowell, the well-known painter on glass, to make a copy of it on a canvas footcloth, which he occasionally used as a carpet in his parlour. There, the Rev. Mr. Delafield says, he saw it many a time; and his description of it corresponds, in all respects, with that taken from the pavement itself at the time of the discovery, though less minute.*

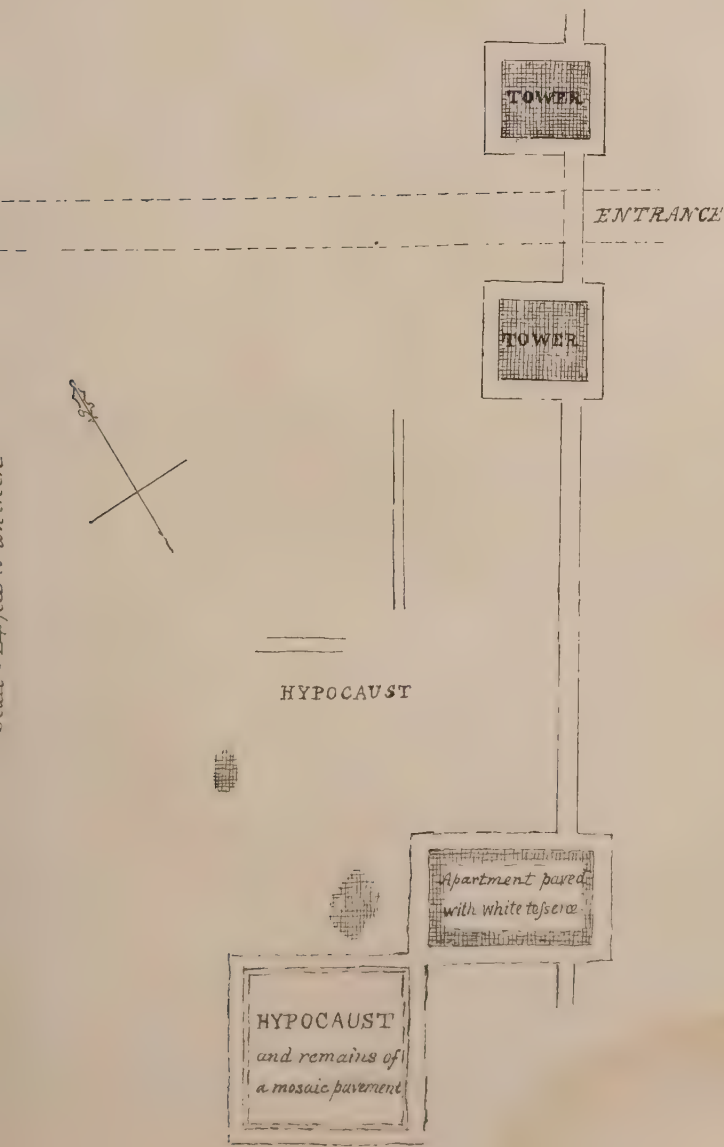
Succeeding antiquaries recorded the tradition of the discovery, but knew of no authentic records; hence, mistakes as to the date and nature of the discovery have found their way into all the printed accounts. In the year 1862, when the Archæological Society of the county of Buckingham expressed their intention of visiting the town of Wycombe, the entry in the register fell under my notice in the collection of materials for an historical account of the borough, but for a long time I could get no clue to the locality; the name of the meadow (Penn's Mead) had long been forgotten, and I searched, fruitlessly, two or three centuries of documents, until, in a lease of the time of Henry VIII., I found the description of a meadow whose locality I knew (Lady Mead), abutting, on the

* See extracts appended.

A



BROOK 



south, upon the meadow called "Penne Mead." The first trial made in this meadow proved this clue to be the right one. The meadow in question is situated about half a mile from the town of Wycombe, at the east end of the ancient common pasture known as the Rye; it is an irregular triangle in shape, and is bounded on the north by a very clear and rapid streamlet flowing from the ancient spring called Holywell, and on the south by the ancient road called Windsor Way, now filled up and converted into a piece of ornamental water, and, like the meadows, the property of Lord Carington, and forming part of the Wycombe Abbey estate. The meadow thus identified, the consent of the noble proprietor and of the tenant to excavation was readily obtained, and his lordship caused the site to be explored and surveyed at his own expense.

The excavations, so far as they have proceeded, have resulted in the discovery of the remains of which the plan is exhibited. They compose a villa, situated near the middle of the field, consisting of a portico and sundry apartments. This appears to have been partially surrounded, at a distance of about eighty yards, by a massive wall, fortified at intervals with turrets. Remains of larger apartments were found at the southern angle of the inclosure, which have not been completely excavated.

The central buildings consist chiefly of apartments paved with tesserae of red brick about one and a half inch square, set in mortar on a basis of rubble. All these are in an even and good condition, except the long division at the west end, which, from their uneven and broken state, had evidently been exposed to the weather. Between the portico and the principal apartments a space occurs enclosed between two walls, which I take to be the architectural contrivance called *andron*, used, in certain aspects, to sever the internal apartments from the variable atmosphere.* The principal apartment is that at the north extremity of the portion excavated, and was decorated with two mosaic pavements, one of which remains, though much mutilated.

The design of this pavement will be readily understood on reference to the drawing A. It consists of a square flanked by two oblongs, the whole being enclosed

* μεσοτοιχίον. See Pliny, Lib. II., Ep. 17; Vitruvius, Lib. VI., cap. 10. Also Etienne's "Thesaurus," Tom. I.

by bands of double and single guilloche ornament. The oblong compartments contain a series of sea-monsters with twisted tails. The square is again resolved into a smaller central square, the design of which is lost, with four still smaller squares at the angles, which are occupied by female busts, representing the Horæ, or goddesses of the seasons. The one that remains perfect appears to represent Spring, and answers to the poetical description,

"Positæ spatiis æqualibus Horæ;
Verque novum stabat cinctum florente cōrona;
 Stabat nuda Æstas, et spicea sarta gerebat;
 Stabat et Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis;
 Et glacialis Hyems, canos hirsuta capillos."

Ovid Metam., Lib. ii. 26.

All the mosaics are executed with very fine tesserculæ of black, blue, red, yellow and white pottery on a solid basis of flints and rubble.*

The compartment marked A on the plan contained another mosaic pavement, with a margin of common red tesserae. This pavement is totally destroyed, but the tesserculæ found show it to have been of singularly fine and minute workmanship, many being no larger than peas. The pavement on the right of this was destroyed, showing the hypocaust. Three of the pilæ remained perfect, and the bases of the others were traceable in mortar on the floor. The whole of the central building was rapidly and easily uncovered, as it lay only from twelve to eighteen inches below the surface.

Leaving the central building, we proceed through the court of the villa to the eastern fortification wall. At the north end, near the brook, are two turrets eighteen feet apart, between which was an entrance to the villa, traces of wheels still remaining in the wall. The turrets project five feet from the wall, and are paved with common red tesserae. Southwards from these towers are the most remarkable remains brought to light, composing a distinct set of apartments of much larger dimensions than those in the central building. Owing to the depth of the soil and the lateness of the season, this part of the work has only

* Vitruvius (Lib. VII., cap. 1) lays down that all the angles of the *pavimentum sectile* should be kept equal (i.e., right angles). I regret to say that by the culpable negligence of the tessellarius, some were obtuse, and others slightly acute.

partially been explored. The largest apartment had a hypocaust, and the ruins of the pilæ were found mixed with pieces of guilloche pavement, of superior workmanship, and rubbed to a fine surface. A single trial near the wall D yielded similar results. The floor of the neighbouring apartment was found entire, and is of a different character to any of the others, being composed of *white* tesserae about an inch square, the margins and other places being laid in red, apparently in the course of repairs. This apartment projects from the wall to correspond with the turret.

Large quantities of broken plastering decorated in fresco were found, but none that were reproducible on paper. The rough coat on which the fresco was applied was made with pounded brick; so was a great part of the mortar, which was less durable than I have seen it in other places. The bricks were of the usual shape, long, thin, and excessively hard. The only coins discovered were mediæval English and German.

The arrowhead and the statera, or miniature steelyard, were found near the central building. The statera much resembles one found at Cirencester, engraved in the excellent work descriptive of the Roman remains in that town. The few pieces of pottery picked up showed no peculiar design nor potter's mark.

This, I think, has now embraced everything worthy of note in our excavation of 1863. The site is far from being exhausted; and as an evidence of what is to come, I would point to the description of the pavement found in 1724, which corresponds in dimension or description with nothing hitherto discovered. It is sufficiently clear that this remarkable pavement still remains to be found; and I believe it is to be looked for in the vicinity of the excavations last described, near the park wall. It is remarkable that none of the remains discovered by us were known to the antiquaries of 1724, which leads me to think that the old discovery must have taken place during some operation nearer the southern boundary of the field, where the park wall now stands.

The excavations were superintended by myself, with the occasional supervision of Mr. William Burges, of 15, Buckingham Street, Strand.

Extract from "Borough Register," No. 3:—

"BURGUS DE CHEPPING, WYCOMBE, IN COM. BUCKS.

"Primo die Julij, Anno Dni, 1724^o."

"Memorand' that then was found in a Mead called great Penns mead, belonging to the Right Honourable the Earle of Shelburne, about a quarter of a mile from the said burrough, an old Roman pavement set in curious figures, as circles, squares, diamond squares, eeight squares, hearts, and many other curious figures, with a beast in the center, in a circle, like a dog standing sideways by a tree, all set with stones in red, black, yellow, and white, about a quarter of an inch square; the whole pavement was about ffourteene foot square, the ffine work in the middle was ten foot long and eight foot broad, the rest was filled up with Roman brick about an inch and an halfe square."

Extract from "Delafield's MSS. Gough Collection, Bib. Bodl. Oxon." Small vol. of miscellaneous memoranda:—

"Mr. John Bates, draper, of this place (a gentleman of a good understanding and of a publick spirit), ordered a copy of it after the original to be taken, which he had painted on a canvas footcloth, and served for many years as an occasional carpet for his parlour. I have seen it many a time, and as far as I can remember, it was diversified into a great variety of work in small squares, and the middle set off with the form of a perfect wild beast."

DISCOVERY OF ANGLO-SAXON REMAINS IN STONE.

Some Anglo-Saxon remains were exhumed in January, 1866, from a field in the possession of J. Lee, Esq., of Hårtwell. The field, called Causeway Field, is situated on the east side of the road between the village of Stone and the hamlet of Bishopstone; and the spot where they were found is about forty yards south-west from the highest part of the field, where there is evidently an elevation which might lead to the supposition that a tumulus had been levelled there for the purposes of agriculture. A pit of red sand having been opened, the workmen dug up, about two feet from the surface, the remains of several skeletons, the heads lying towards the north and the feet towards the south. Near one were found the iron umbo of a shield, an iron spear-head, and a knife. Near another, the iron umbo of a shield, an iron spear-head, a large iron knife, and two iron fibulæ. Near another, the iron umbo and handle of a shield, two iron spear-heads, and a few pieces of pottery. An iron spear-head much larger than the others was found by itself. These relics are similar to the drawings in Akerman's *Archæological Index and Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, and in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 276. They have been presented by J. Lee, Esq., to the Society's Museum.

C. L.

THE SEPULCHRAL BRASSES OF
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

(Continued from page 118.)

BY REV. J. A. BOODLE.

DEANERY OF NEWPORT PAGNELL—(SECOND PORTION) SEVEN-
TEEN CHURCHES—TEN BRASSES IN SEVEN CHURCHES.

Bletchley.

THOMAS SPARKE, Rector, mural, very finely incised,
1610.

Inscr: as follows

Qui multos ad Iustitiam adducunt vt stellæ semper
splendebunt. Dan. 12. 3.

En renouata tamen ista caduca rosa est.

Mors tegit at reteggit nuntius iste Tuba.

Vindex Fama libros fatali tollit ab Urnâ,

Non extincta sepulta licet SCINTILLA fauilla est,
atra cinis micat quam tegit SCINTILLA Sic.

Bis geniti, retinete fidem, zelumq' paternum,

Hæredis vestri sic decet esse Patris.

Sic decet; o mea tunc qua molliter ossa cubabūt

Si licet in natis sic superesse meis.

SCINTILLAM SCINTILLA mea si vestra sequatur

Orba sua flammâ non erit Ara Dei.

Vt sacra in Populo signatur epistola Pauli

Sic mea in hoc sancto lucet Imago Grege.

Corporis in Tabulâ datur impfecta sed illa

Cordib' in vestris viua figura mei est.

Viua mei dixi? Christi at sit vera figura

Sat mihi si Populus vera figura Dei.

THO : SPARKE SSæ THEOL : D . CELEBER :

HVIVS ECCLE : RECTOR VIGILANTISSIMVS.

Mortuus A^o { Ætatis suæ 68 } Oct. 8.
 { Dom. 1610 }

Filioli caute vobis ab Idolis. 1 Ioh. 5 . 21.

Deum adorate . Reuel . 22 . 9.

Hoc Monumentum THO : SPARKE filius et Hæres
pietatis ergo mœrens posuit.*

* Cole, in his MSS., adds, "On the verge of the marble frame to
this monument is wrote :

Non ita vixi ut me pudeat vixisse,
neque mori timeo, Quia bonū Dominū habem⁹."

Broughton.

1. Inscr :

Hic iacet Agnes quondam vx' Joh̄is de Broughton filii
 Robti de Broughton que obiit xi die Mensis octobris
 A° dni M°CCC°LXXXX°IX° cui' aie propiciet' deus.
 AMEN.

2. Inscr :

Hic iacet Joh̄es de Broughton fili' Robti de Broughton
 qui
 obiit xx°r° die M̄sis decembris A°dni M°CCCC°III°
 cui' aie ppiciet' d̄s. amen.

3. Inscr :

Here is layed to rest vntill the day of resvrection
 the body of Mary the wife of Tho Dvncombe Esqr
 ye second of that name of this parish and eldest
 daughte of Charles Edmonds of Preston Denary
 in the covnty of Northam : Esqr : she was through
 the grace of God in her life a dvtifvll childe a
 chaste & loveing spowse a tender mother a faith-
 fvll piovs & devovte Christian. Shee departed this
 life the 20th of Ianvary 1655 in ye 31th yeare of her
 age and left svrviveing issve behinde her 4 sonnes
 and 3 daughters.

Brickhill Little.

Inscr :

Sacred
 to ye Mem : of Mr Rbt Seling
 Died ye 9 Iuly 169[6?] Æt. 22.

Under this weeping marble lies
 the knowing head and honest hart
 Fare blood & courtecous hand & every part
 of Rob : Seling all with one stone content
 Though each deserved a severall monument
 he was beleve me Reader for tis rare
 Vertuous thō young & learned thō an heere
 Not with his blood or Nature's gifts content
 he paid them both there tribute w^c they lent
 his Ancesters in him fix ther pride
 fo wth him all revived wth him all died

O cruel death as hear at once to bee
the ruine of a family
Learne reader heare thō long thy line hath stood
time breed destemper in y^e noblest blood
learne reader hear to what our glory com
hears no destinction twixt y^e house
and tombe.

Milton Keynes.

Adam Babington, Rector, 1427.

Inscr : as follows

Hic iacet Adam Babington quondam Rector istius Eccle
Qui obiit Octavo die mensis Nouembr' Anno dni Millō.
CCCC^o. vicesimo Septimo . cuius aīe ppicietur deus.
Amen.

Moulsoe.

Man in armour and wife. c. 1530. Inscription (marginal) lost.*

Walton.

Inscr :

Elizabetha vale mea lxx, mea vita, qvovsq'
Ivngimvr in cœlis, filia chara, vale,
In vvltv virtvs, tenerisq' resplendvit annis
Innocvæ vitæ cvm probitate fides.
Ehev tam cito qvovd reseabat stamina, nollet
Atropos, ac vitæ parcere Parca tvæ.

Elizabeth, the dvaughter deare
Of William Pyxe heere lies interr'd.
O that her death for manie a yeare
Allmightie God would have deferr'd.
Her mother's hope, her father's ioye,
And eke her friends delight was shee,
She was most kinde, covrteovs, not coye,
A meeker soule there could not bee,
A modest hve, a lovely grace,
Appeared in her beavteovs face.

But nowe alas her life, beholde,
In tender bvdde is falne awaye :

* Cole conjectures this to have been the monument of Richard Rowthall (whose will was proved 1528) and wife.

Her comely corps, sencelesse and colde,
 Intombed is in earthie claye.
 Her soyle with Christ, which did her save
 Enioyes, no doubt, celestially ioyes;
 Satan no power ov'er her can have;
 Shee is preserv'd from hels annoyes.
 Deare Besse adiev, adiev I say,
 Vntill we meete in heaven for aye.

She departed this life the 4th
 of January 1617, & the 55th
 yeare of her Age.

Wavendon.

Richard Saunders and wife. 1596. Female figure, with daughters, lost; male figure, with sons, and inscription loose, March 1860.

1. Inscr: as follows

Death is to me advantage.

Here lyeth, the body of Elizabeth Savndeers late
 the wife of Richard Savnders Gent: who in her
 lyfe time beinge religiovs towards God, and
 charitable for the relief of the poore and had
 issve IIII sonnes and III daughters being alwayes
 carefvll for their edvcation and bringing vp
 desiringe God to blesse them and dyed the XIXth
 of Ivne Anno Dni 1596.

2. Inscr:

In this chancell lyeth bvryed
 the body of Richard Savnders
 whose Ancestors are inter'd at
 Badlestō & Potsgrave in y^e coynty
 of Bedford, wch Richard had 4 wives
 viz Elizab: Charge, Frances Fitzhugh,
 Beatrice Aynesley and Frances Stanto,
 by whom he had 27 children he
 dyed Ivly y^e 15. 1639 aged 76.

ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

A LECTURE, DELIVERED BEFORE THE MEMBERS OF THE
AYLESBURY MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, ON TUESDAY,
DECEMBER 12, 1864.

BY THE VEN. ARCHDEACON BICKERSTETH, D.D.

THE ARCHDEACON spoke nearly as follows:—

I respond with pleasure to the request made to me by the Committee of your Institution, that I should give a lecture on such subject as I might think best calculated to instruct and interest you. I thought that the English Language, our mother tongue, would not be an inappropriate subject on which to address a Mechanics' Institute. But since I selected my theme, I confess I have been at times inclined, if not to bewail my folly, at least to wonder at my presumption, in supposing that I could, in the compass of a popular lecture of this kind, present you with anything like an adequate survey of so wide and complicated a subject. Let me first, therefore, claim your kind indulgence for the remarks I am about to make; in the next place, let me ask you to remember that what I am going to say will be rather in the way of what is elementary and suggestive, than in the hope that I shall within the space of an hour, or an hour and a quarter, be able to satisfy your desires or your expectations. That is my object this evening, and if you will kindly bear with me, I will endeavour that what I may say shall be clearly put before you.

What is Language? That is the first question which we touch in approaching a subject of this kind. Is Language a production of nature, or is it due to the art of man, or is it a Divine gift? There are those in the present day who have revived the old and (as I had supposed) exploded theory, that man is only the higher development of mere animal life. Those, of course, who take that view of the origin of man, take a view of the origin of language in accordance with it; and I suppose that, according to their theory, language may be considered as originating in rude inarticulate sounds and the imitation of natural cries, or something of that kind; and that, by degrees, as man developed to a higher condition, language took a higher form, and that thus it was the combined result of a natural power and of human skill.

I may say at the outset that I have no sympathy with views of that kind. I take my stand on what I believe to have been the acknowledgment of the greatest and wisest of men—I speak not merely of Christian men, as St. Basil and St. Augustine, but of the greatest philosophers of all ages, Plato for example—who maintain that language was given by a Supernatural Power; that language is the gift of Him who granted reason to man, and who in giving him reason gave him the power to express his ideas by articulate sounds. I do not mean that man was furnished at once with the power of expressing himself fully and accurately on every subject; but I imagine that there was a Divine power imparted to man, and that man gradually evolved a language by using that Divine gift which the Creator imparted to him. I am sustained in this view by the intimation in Holy Scripture, that the Almighty Himself first gave names to certain objects in nature, and that after Adam was created, the Divine gift was evoked, and animals were brought to our forefather to see what he would call them.* I may remark that this is the grand distinction between man and the brute creation; that man is able to abstract, the brute cannot. The brute is certainly capable of reasoning to a limited extent, and I do not think that the ordinary distinction, that man has reason, and the brute only instinct, is quite sufficient. Both instinct and reason are shared in part by man and by the brute creation, and I do not think it possible by any metaphysical analysis to separate entirely between these two. There can be no doubt that man possesses instinct; why, else, do we speak of “the common instincts of humanity?” In the same way, the brute has a certain power of reason. I appeal to any one who has a favourite dog, whether that animal is not capable of a great deal of reasoning and very strong affection? And who that has ever been mounted on a high-bred horse, can doubt that the brute has also to a great extent the power of enjoying life? What, then, is the distinction between man and the brute? Man has language; the brute has no power whatever of abstraction, and no power of expressing what he feels excepting by inarticulate sounds. Language is thus the great barrier between man and the brute. And

* Gen. ii. 19.

so we come back to what I said before, that the Creator having imparted to man the gift of reason, has also given him the power of abstraction, and of expressing his ideas by means of articulate sounds. If the other view were true, how is it that we never find a race of men who cannot talk at all? I have read, as no doubt some of you have, in the remarkable work of Professor Max Müller, on "The Science of Language," the extreme indignation he expresses on finding in an American publication, no doubt to suit party purposes, a profile of the ape and the negro, in which the negro is made to appear a great deal more irrational than the ape. Let us be thankful that all our greatest philosophers are agreed as to this great fact of man being essentially distinct from the irrational creation, through his possession of the gift of language; and that they are agreed too, as to what I think is a most vital matter, the unity of the human race. I think these are matters of very great importance in the present day, when it is so necessary that we should have clear and rational views on such subjects, and should not be ashamed to express our opinions, in the full confidence that, if those opinions are wrong, they will be answered and refuted.

We come then to this fact—here is a race of beings brought into the world gifted by the Almighty with reason, and as a consequence of the gift of reason, with the power of expressing their ideas by means of articulate speech. As to language itself we find, that although there are very many languages—it is estimated that there are something like 900 known languages in the world—they are capable of being classified and grouped together in different families. It has been found by those who have studied the science of language—for, of course, viewing language in the light I have explained, I agree with those who treat it as a science—that all these hundreds of languages admit of being so grouped in families, by observing certain similarities, that tracing them upwards to their origin, we find there was a time when, in strict accordance with the statement of Holy Scripture, "the whole earth was of one language and one speech."^{*} Languages have been classified in three great divisions, the Aryan, or Indo-European, the Semitic, and the Tura-

^{*} Gen. xi. 1.

nian. I may dismiss the two latter very briefly. The Turanian languages are those spoken by the nomad tribes in the East and North of Asia; the Semitic family comprises the Hebrew, the Arabic, and the Syriac. The Aryan or Indo-European is a very wide group, including the ancient language of India, the Sanskrit, the Medo-Persic, the Celtic, the Greco-Latin family, the Teutonic, and the Slavonic. To this Indo-European group the English language is to be referred. You will ask, on what principle is it referred to this, rather than any other group? I cannot go fully into that question; I will only say that languages are grouped into families, not according to the sounds of particular words, but according to their grammatical construction. It is the grammar of a language which determines to which group it is to be referred. And on this principle, the particular branch of the Indo-European family to which the English language may be referred is the Teutonic.

But before we go farther into the question of the origin of the English language, I must remind you briefly of some facts in the history of our country, in order that we may see how that history has affected the progress of the language. The first known inhabitants of this island were a Celtic tribe, who came from the far East; and by the way, it is remarkable that the families of man seem, for the most part, to have travelled from East to West. The Celts were found in the island by Julius Cæsar when he visited us about 55 B.C. The Romans, after having been vigorously resisted by the aborigines, succeeded in conquering the island, and they retained possession until about A.D. 405.* After a short interval came the great Anglo-Saxon invasion, A.D. 450, and from that time to the Norman Conquest, A.D. 1066, the Saxons were rulers in this country; though from about A.D. 787 till the Norman Conquest the Danes had very great power. The Norman Conquest, we may say, was the last event which materially affected the spoken language of this country. You will observe, then, what elements have combined to form this English language of ours. First, there is the old Celtic, from which we gain many words in common use. I dare say I have used

* The last Roman legions left the island A.D. 409.

some Celtic words since I came into this room. I might mention *cart*, *basket*, *muggy* (which we all understand as applied to the weather), *billhook*, *mattock*, *flannel*, *cock-boat* (the *boat* being added afterwards, by way of distinction, when other objects came to be called by the same name), *flip*, *gruel*, and many others, as Celtic words. A very interesting circumstance is this, that many of the names of natural objects are Celtic. We have the river *Ousel*, which divides Buckinghamshire from Bedfordshire, and the *Ouse*. Now, *Ouse* (*uisge*) is the old Celtic for water.* Thus, again, Exeter is simply the "city on the water."† Again, we have the old Celtic word *Tam*, or *Thame* (broad); and any one who has seen Lower Winchenden valley after a heavy flood, when it has received the various tributaries of that great watershed of Bucks, and observed the wide expanse of water, will see why it is called pre-eminently the *Thame*, or *broad water*. Where it joins the *Isis*, at Dorchester, it becomes the *Tam-esis*, or *Broad Isis*. We know that we stand on a safe foundation in studying the etymology of names of natural objects, because these, by the very nature of the case, are less liable to change.

So much for the influence of the Celtic, which has left its mark upon our language for some 2000 years.

What, in the next place, does our language derive from the Roman occupation of this country? Not much; though quite sufficient to show that there was a time when the Romans were masters of the island. The names of a great many places have the affix *castra* or *chester*, meaning a camp—such as *Colchester*, *Leicester*, *Cirencester*. Then, wherever we meet with the prefix *Pon*, as in *Pontefract*, we have a Roman derivation; and wherever, in a proper name, you have *Street*, that is from the old Roman *Strata*. So *Lincoln* from *colonia*, and *Bristolport* from *porta*.

But the most important period for the history of our language is the Anglo-Saxon invasion. Nothing shows more the immense power of this race, than the fact that they not only conquered the island, but actually planted their language in this country. Generally speaking, when a body of people invade a country, their language becomes assimilated to the language of the

* *Usc* in Latin; *oise* in French. *Isis* has evidently the same origin.

† Exeter; *Caer-wisc*.

people to whom they come. But in this case the Celtic was thrust out, and the Anglo-Saxon language was firmly planted in its place. From that day to the present the Anglo-Saxon has been the staple of the English language. When I speak of the staple, I do not allude to the number of words ; I mean the grammar. The grammar of the English language is essentially Saxon. The joints, articulations, and inflections, all, in fact, that gives a distinctive character to the language, are Anglo-Saxon. From that time, amidst all the importations that have come to our language from the four quarters of the world, the Anglo-Saxon has held its own. I think I may venture to say that we are much indebted for this to one of the best of men and greatest of our kings—Alfred the Great. He was, as you know, very fond of literature, and a very good Latin scholar. I am inclined to think that we owe much to Alfred for the consolidation of our English language.

But we must look for a moment at the effect which the Danish invasion had on our language. From A.D 787 to 1066, this country was the scene of constant conflicts between the Saxons and the Danes. Alfred, you remember, was obliged for some time to remain in retirement, and at length recovered his power after gaining a victory over the Danish chief Guthrun. After a long and arduous struggle, a Danish dynasty was established, though its continuance was brief. I may mention that the Danish settlements in this country were chiefly to the North and East of the great Watling Street, the Roman road which runs from Dover to London, and so across the country to Chester. We might expect, therefore, to find here Danish names, and it is precisely so. On the borders of the Watling Street, we begin to find Danish terminations—Ivinghoe, Totternhoe, Farthinghoe ; *hoe* being the Danish for hill. Again, in the Midland counties, you will find the termination *by* to the names of many towns—Whitby, Rugby, Naseby ; *bye* being the Danish word for a village or town. I may observe that this is the origin of the phrase *bye-laws*—laws for a district or town. Our friend, *Mr. Thorp*, whom I see amongst us, may not be aware that his name is simply a Danish word for village. Proper names ending in *son*, *Thomson*, *Johnson*, *Jackson*, are Danish ; and it is remarkable that in Iceland,

a Scandinavian settlement, *Johnson* is one of the most familiar names.

We come at last to the Norman invasion, which, of course, was a great crisis in the history of our country, both in a political and religious point of view. This event affected our language materially. It was the means of introducing many words of Norman origin, but it did not alter the structure of the language. Although the land was in the possession of Normans, and French was the language spoken at Court for 200 years, and though foreign ecclesiastics brought over from France spoke in that language, still they could not alter the structure of the Anglo-Saxon language. It absorbed a great deal of the Norman language into its system, but continued to walk on its own sturdy joints and limbs. You may recollect in Archbishop Trench's excellent work on "Words," what is also mentioned by Sir Walter Scott, in "Ivanhoe," how Wamba, the jester, complains that while the names of living animals are Saxon (as *bull, cow, ox, sheep, hog*), the moment the meat is cooked it becomes Norman (*beef, mutton, pork*); and the only remaining Saxon word as applied to cooked meat is that on which the poor labourer chiefly subsisted, namely, *bacon*. So also the names of dignities (*duke, viscount, etc.*) are Norman, always excepting the good old Saxon word *King* (*Conyng, conning*). So also, such words as *sceptre, mansion, hall, palace*, are Norman, while names applied to persons or things of inferior condition are Saxon. But again, it is interesting to remember that if the Norman gives us *palace, mansion, etc.*, the words *hearth, home, house, husband, wife, father, mother*, are Saxon. The wife who stays at home to attend to her duties is the one who *weaves*; the husband is the *band* of the *house*. We may say, generally, that words which relate to home and the relations of simple domestic life are essentially Saxon.

It is remarkable how changes in the habits of the people have influenced our language. We are accustomed to look upon language as a fixed thing, but really there is nothing more unstable than language. Where there is no literature to fix it, it changes with great rapidity. There is an account of some gentlemen who went to Central America and tried to make a dictionary of one of the languages they found there. They returned ten years afterwards,

but found their dictionary all but useless, the language had so materially changed. Although our language is not subject to such a rapid change as that, yet changes are perpetually going on. Changes in habits and customs have a material influence on language. In times when the chief weapon in use was the *bow*, there must have been a number of artificers employed in making bows and arrows. Other weapons of war have now come into use; but the old custom still lingers in our language. If there is in this room a Mr. *Archer*, a Mr. *Bowyer*, a Mr. *Fletcher*, they will see that their names preserve a tradition of our national history; and if we had not that history before us, we should know that there was a time when the manufacture of bows and arrows must have been a very important trade. See, again, how many new words have come to us by railway. What did our ancestors know about *points*, *sleepers*, *shunting*? As I wish this lecture to be of general interest, I would venture to refer to a work to which I am indebted for much of the information I have laid before you to-night, namely, "Richardson's Dictionary." To show how completely the Anglo-Saxon is the very staple of our language, I would only ask any person to make the attempt to construct a sentence, or a few sentences, by the use of Latin words only. You will break down directly. But attempt the same thing with Saxon words, and you cannot possibly fail. I may mention one example, familiar to us all. The Lord's Prayer contains sixty words, of which only five are Latin, the rest Saxon. Some are very striking. *Father*, we have already seen, is Saxon. *Heaven* is that which is heaved or lifted up. *Earth* is a very old word—that which is "eared" or ploughed. It occurs in our authorized version of the Bible. In Joseph's time there was "neither *earing* nor harvest." Some might think that this refers simply to the corn coming into the ear, but in fact it means "neither ploughing nor reaping." *Kingdom* I have mentioned before. Those who have analyzed the Bible carefully, say that the proportion of Saxon words is ninety-seven per cent., while in Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" it is fifty-seven per cent. only. I may mention to the credit of our great living poet, Alfred Tennyson, that in his poem, "The Lotos Eaters," the proportion of Saxon words is eighty-seven per cent.; and I suppose it is mainly

to the skilful use of the short, terse, expressive Saxon that he owes that graphic power of description which is so remarkable in his writings.

There are two circumstances in our history, since the Norman Conquest, which have materially affected our English language. The first is the remarkable series of wars carried on by Edward III., in the fourteenth century, against France. Although afterwards he experienced reverses, yet at one time his conquests were considerable. Supposing that his victories had remained, it is possible that the Anglo-Saxon might have been absorbed into the Norman. As it turned out, these events grafted new stems on the Anglo-Saxon trunk, and tended to consolidate the language. The other event which exercised a great influence on the growth of the English language, (I speak of it, of course, only in a moral and political sense) was the Reformation. It is to the Reformation that we owe a boon which we cannot prize too highly, and which, I trust, we shall hand down unimpaired to future generations—our grand old English Bible, which, although revised in 1611, was really a revision of Tyndal's original Bible. Therefore, the book which we prize so much, and which has exercised so great an influence on our language, has been in our possession, almost in its present form, for between 300 and 400 years. Now let us consider for a moment how that circumstance has affected our language. A dead language (as we call it) is a language which is no longer spoken; there it lies, contained in some few books, unchanged from generation to generation. But a living, spoken language is constantly changing. Now, what is it that can arrest, can stop this incessant change in a language? Why, you must fix the language, stereotype it in some book, which shall be destined to have a great and permanent influence. That is a literary interference with the progress of a language, and everything depends on the precise time when such interference takes place. Now, in our case, the period of the Reformation was just the period when it was desirable to arrest our language, to fix it (so to speak) in amber. Had it been a little later, we should have been deluged with Latin words; had it come a little earlier, the Saxon language would hardly have reached its maturity. It is a most remarkable thing, that the time when the Reformation took place was the

very time when our language might be said to be in its greatest purity and perfection. And let us just observe the result. The Bible contains from 5000 to 6000 words, and, notwithstanding the shifting character of all language, not more than 300 or 400 of these words have become obsolete. The Authorized Version still represents and embodies the spoken language of our country, and has helped, in a great degree, to preserve to us the purity of our language.

I must now approach a subject on which I feel some delicacy; but it concerns us all to endeavour to guard the purity of our language. Now, a living language is always liable to deterioration; and our own language has suffered something from our intercourse with America, and has received several words from thence which ought to be driven off the stage as soon as possible. I do not see why a person should be always "guessing," or why he should "expect" something that has already passed. There is another Americanism which is very common,—to talk about people "progressing,"—but for this there is the high authority of Shakspeare:—

"Let me wipe off the honourable dew,
That silverly doth *progress* down thy cheek."*

So that we must acquit Jonathan of any great impropriety here. I think, too, that when an American talks of the poker being "het," he must be admitted to be only reviving an old form of the præterite. In the north of England we sometimes hear "singen" for "sing,"—a good old Saxon plural, the loss of which has left us without any distinction between the singular "I sing" and the plural "we" or "they sing." There is another form of plural in *e*, which you will find in the prologue to Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales:"—

"And smalle foules maken melodie
That sleepen alle night with open eye,"

which shows how much we lose by not being able to express the adjective plural. I may mention also the word luncheon, which is properly *noon-shun* or *nuncion*, but which has been confused with another word, "lunch," a piece, or lump, and the two notions have been mixed up with one another.

I need hardly stay to condemn instances of false

* *King John*, act v., s. 2.

grammar, or the use of high-sounding expressions, so common in inferior publications; still less the sins of omission and commission with regard to the ill-used letter "h." Nothing but downright laziness or utter want of capacity can account for the ill-treatment to which this unfortunate letter is constantly subject; and we who speak of the purity of our language ought, I think, to visit such a practice with a very severe rebuke.

I have noted down a few derivations of words connected with this particular neighbourhood. "Aylesbury" puzzled me for a long time, but at last, by the help of some friends, I was led to what I believe to be the true derivation—*Ecclesbury*, or *Æglesbury*, or *Church-bury*.* No doubt a fine church has existed on this high point for many ages past, which gave its name to the town. In the same way we get "Beccles"; i.e., *Beau Eccles*. Again, there is "Wendover"; if any one will look at the country, he will find a remarkable dip in the Chilterns; and Wendover, as affording the easiest transit over the hills, is rightly named *Wend-over*. So also Puttenham comes from the old Saxon word *Putta*, a pond.

I should like, before I conclude, to add something with regard to the morality of words. Words have a striking relation to morality, in this way. It is a lamentable circumstance that words which originally had a thoroughly good meaning have degenerated, and come to possess a bad meaning. There is *knave*, for example, meaning originally nothing but a servant lad. I fear that the change to its present signification indicates that the condition of servant lads generally was not very good. *Villain*, again, means simply one who lives in the country; and *miscreant* which now is applied to a very bad doer indeed, was originally a mis-believer, showing that mis-belief is very apt to lead on to bad practice. *Libertine*, again, meant originally a "free-thinker"; but the meaning now attached to it is that of a person who has proceeded from a bad creed to loose living. *Saunterer*, again, comes from *sainte terre*—the Holy Land—to which at one period all pious eyes were turned. But in process of time, instead of a religious exercise, pilgrimage became a mere excuse for loitering, and so the word came to mean a mere idler.

* The foundations of the old Saxon Church have recently been discovered, in excavating a crypt under the Lady Chapel.—E. B.

Moody, again, should refer to all the moods of our mind, and not, as now, to our evil moods only. A *crafty* man is simply a person skilled in a craft, and I think I see signs that this word is coming back to its right use again. We ought to be ready to welcome words which have strayed from their proper use when they come back penitent, and ask to serve us in their right sense. *Maudlin*, as you may know, comes from the *Magdalen*; showing, in its present use, that there are such things as "crocodile tears" and a false sentimentality. *Tawdry* is said to owe its origin to a fair in honour of *St. Ethelred*. The lace sold at that fair got the name of "tawdry lace," and as the lace sold at fairs is not always the best, it came to have its present signification. *Tinsel* is used by Milton, in his *Comus*,* in the sense of sparkling and shining; but as it is "not all gold that glitters," it came to have its present depraved meaning. (The Archdeacon here read an extract from Tennyson's "Dream of Fair Women," illustrating the remarkable power and pathos which results from the use of Saxon words.)

I have now only to conclude this imperfect sketch of the English language. If I have succeeded in any degree in arousing the sympathy and interest of any one on this subject, my labour will be amply repaid. I, for my part, feel deeply indebted to the good providence of God for the possession of a language of so much beauty and power in which to express my thoughts; and I rejoice that it prevails over so wide a space. It is spoken from the equator to the poles. Men converse in it till the East again meets the West. Wherever commerce spreads, wherever human life exists in its greatest intensity, there the English language is found. It is a mighty and glorious instrument of human thought. Other languages have their beauties. The French is famous for its conversational elegance; the German for its massiveness and solidity; the Italian for its florid diction. But the English is a combination of excellences. It has gathered to itself the choicest fruits of other languages and assimilated them, while yet retaining its own articulations. It changes,

* "By Thetis' *tinsel-slippered* feet."—*Comus*, l. 877. This is a paraphrase of ἀργυρόπεζα, or *silver-footed*, the usual epithet for Thetis in Homer.—E. B.

indeed, but imperceptibly. It changes, and yet it holds its own, by the prescription of 1400 years. And, under the wholesome restraints of a Shakspeare, a Milton, and an Authorized Version of the Holy Bible, we may hope it will long continue the vehicle of thought for our race, and be a spoken language even till the great consummation, when the many tongues of earth shall once more blend together in one universal language, rising upwards in praise and adoration to our common Father for evermore.

THE ROMAN VILLA AT LATIMER, BUCKS.

BY THE REV. BRYANT BURGESS.

The present road from Chesham to Chenies and London passes through the south-western part of a slightly-elevated mound near Dell Farm, at Latimer, but within the boundary of the parish of Chenies. In the year 1834, the road which originally ran between the farm-house and the river was diverted to its present course, and the workmen who were employed in making it, found the tesserae of a Roman pavement in the mound, and a few yards to the north-west, four human skeletons, with earthen vessels and coins deposited near the skulls; the urns or vessels, which were broken, were taken away by a passer-by.

In 1863, numerous tesserae, of various sizes, pieces of Roman tile and mortar, with the peculiar pink tinge which marks it of Roman manufacture, were found lying by the side of the road, where it was cut through the mound, and at three inches below the level of the road a tessellated pavement of coarse red ware.

In July, 1864, some workmen, by direction of Lord Chesham, who owns the property, began to dig for the foundations of three new cottages, and soon laid bare parts of the floors of the rooms marked 1 and 2 in the plan, together with the wall between them, which was standing to a height of about eighteen inches, and the investigation of that part of the mound was proceeded with by myself.

Room 1 is rectangular, measuring 19 ft. 6 in. by 22 ft. The tessellated pavement was partially destroyed; but where that was the case, there remained a smooth floor

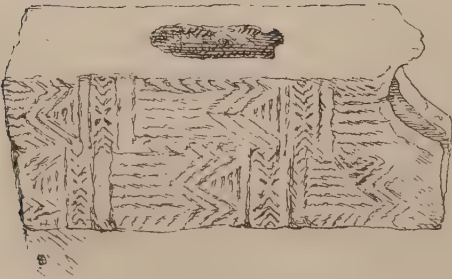
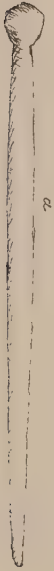
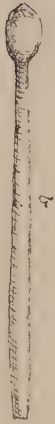
on which the pavement had been laid, formed of concrete upon a bed of large flints. In this chamber, as also in Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 and 9, there is a very considerable dip in the floor, which rises as it approaches a wall; and this rise in the floor was of assistance in tracing the dimensions of a room, by showing where the wall was to be expected before it was discovered.

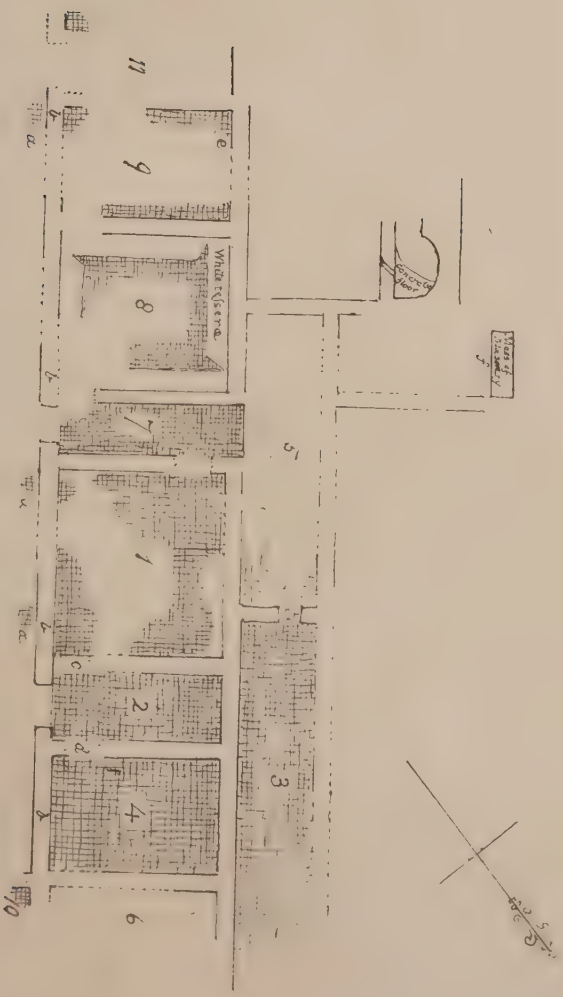
In No. 3 the dip is very considerable, the tesserae turning up to meet the wall; the upper ones being covered with a sill or ledge of Roman mortar, which was very perfect in Rooms 3 and 8. In Room 1 the tesserae were one and a quarter inch square, but of somewhat uneven shapes; the walls were neatly plastered, and the part remaining was coloured of a dull red, but pieces of the plaster of the rooms were found white, with a red, and others with a green stripe, and some of three different colours. The floors in this and the other rooms were covered with a black powder, formed of decayed wood, in which were a considerable number of iron nails, from one and a half to five inches in length, many of which were bent at right angles, as if they had been driven through wood and clenched; above this was a mass of broken ridge and flanged tiles (of which doubtless the roof was formed as figured in Wright's "Celt, Roman, and Saxon," p. 171), together with large flints and mortar and the plaster of rooms, evidently the *débris* of the upper part of the building.

Room 2 communicated with 1 by a doorway, full 5 ft. wide at *c*; the wooden threshold, though much decayed, still remaining. This room, also $19\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in length, is only $9\frac{1}{4}$ ft. in breadth, and appears to have been a kind of entrance hall, having a doorway through the main wall, *b, b, b*, 6 ft. wide, with a concrete floor. The pavement in this room is more perfect than in 1. The entrance to Room 4 was by a doorway at *d*.

Room 4. This room, $19\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 12 ft., was paved with similar red tesserae to those in 1 and 2. A considerable quantity of broken pottery, and wood, apparently charred, was found in this room. The south-west wall (as also some others) had been plastered and coloured, and had afterwards received a second facing of plaster and colour.

Room 6 was traceable on the south-west side, and a





Plan of Roman Villa discovered at Iatiner

Scale 20 feet to an inch.

few white tesserae *in situ* were found in the south corner; but the ground had been lowered at a previous date, so that nothing more could be traced in the north-east. The same remark applies to Room 10, the corner of which, as marked in the plan, only remains. It has a tessellated pavement of the same character as in the other rooms, but the tesserae are more varied in colour, some white and dark ones being interspersed with the usual red kind, but without any traceable pattern.

Rooms 3 and 5, at the back of those already mentioned, are only $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide. No. 3 was traced for a length of 39 ft.: it is paved with red tesserae, a very considerable dip running longitudinally, and a mortar sill or ledge running along the base of the south-east wall. Two coins of Constantine I. were found near the north-east extremity of this room.

No. 5 appeared to be 34 ft. in length, and seemed to communicate with 3 by a doorway, the threshold of which was 6 in. above the floor, and the mortar retained the impression of the grain of the wood, which, no doubt, had been laid upon it. The floor of this room, where it remained, was formed of flat tiles, measuring 16 in. by 12 in., with a dip in the middle quite as great as in Room 3.

No. 7 was an entrance hall or passage, with openings through the two main walls, and side entrances to Rooms 1 and 8. This chamber is paved with red tesserae, as before, but the floor is level. It is only 5 ft. 5 in. wide. The entrance to No. 5 was by a step. In the doorway between this room and No. 1 there were marks of fire, and lumps of whitish lead were found.

Room 8 measures 19 ft. 6 in. by 18 ft. 9 in. The main wall on the south-east was scarcely traceable in places, and the floor at the eastern corner and in the centre of the room was destroyed. The other walls were very perfect to the height of about 18 inches. The pavement is of white tesserae for a width of 27 inches from the walls; the interior, as far as it remained, was of the usual red pavement, but in the three corners it was continued for some inches into the border.

No. 9 measures 19 ft. 6 in. by 12 ft. 9 in. The pavement, wherever it was reached, was of the red kind, but at the spot marked *c* a number of small tesserae, red,

white, yellow, and black, were found; in some cases three or four were found still adhering together as they had been laid in an ornamented pattern.

Room 11 appears to have been another passage, having an entrance through the front wall, but no pavement has been found in it. The excavation, however, in this chamber and in No. 9 was very imperfect. Outside the front wall parts of a pavement, mostly of white tesserae, were found at *a, a, a*.

The mass of wall, formed of large flints imbedded in mortar, with courses of tiles at *f*, was flat on the top just below the surface of the ground, and was traced perpendicularly to a depth of 4 feet. A number of small bones, as of a cat or rabbit, were found.

ARTICLES FOUND IN THE ROMAN VILLA AT LATIMER.

Two brass coins of Constantine the Great, almost exactly alike. On the obverse, CONSTANTINVS AVG round the helmeted head of the Emperor. On the reverse, VIRTUS EXERCIT, with two mourning captives seated under a Roman standard, inscribed VOT XX.

A brazen or copper coin of Tetricus, the name TETRICVS being decypherable above a crowned head. On the reverse, which is much defaced, apparently a human figure erect, with some letters illegible.

A small British coin, of brass, of the age of Tetricus, evidently a rude imitation on both sides of the Roman coin last described.

A lady's hair-pin, of ivory or very hard bone, carved, in perfect preservation, except the point, measuring $3\frac{1}{10}$ inches.

A ditto, of darker colour, of finer workmanship, imperfect.

A great deal of broken pottery, with a few pieces of Caistor and Samian ware.

A piece of stag's horn.

Oyster shells and whelks, the former in considerable quantities.

Pointed pieces of iron, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length.

Pieces of lead, and a large quantity of iron nails.

A small piece of a glass vessel and fragments of window glass.

Flue tiles, mostly broken, measuring $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $16\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. One nearly perfect, ornamented on two sides with a stamped pattern; the rest merely scored on the wider sides with a comb.

Flanged tiles, measuring 16 in. by 12 in. at the broader, and $10\frac{1}{2}$ at the narrower end: but the measurements vary considerably in different tiles. These, together with ridge tiles, measuring about 15 in. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., were found, mostly in a broken state, overlying the pavements in all parts of the building.

ST. MARY, AYLESBURY.

The great improvements made of late years in the interior of this fine old Church, are now being followed up by an extensive renovation of the exterior. Mr. Scott has again been consulted, and under his advice and direction all the coverings of rough cast, with the ugly plinths of Roman cement, are now in course of removal. A handsome wall-facing of stone is gradually superseding the rough cast; the buttresses are being rebuilt on solid foundations reaching down to the rock, and good stone plinths, following as nearly as possible the old lines, are taking the place of the cement. The designs contemplate a restoration or reproduction of the windows, wherever necessary; and the whole exterior will then become a worthy counterpart to the magnificent interior. Already some £10,000 have been expended on the interior; and it is estimated that the external works now in progress will cost at least £3500 more, of which about £2000 have already been raised.

Not the least interesting part of the present restoration is the Lady Chapel, a beautiful work of the fourteenth century. In excavating for the new buttresses and plinth foundations of this building, the workmen encountered some old arches of a very rude type, which led to further excavations within the Chapel; and thus the remains of an ancient crypt have been revealed, possibly of Saxon date. In later times this crypt seems to have been used as a charnel house, the arches serving as openings for this purpose from without. At the east end of this subterraneous chamber, immediately under the east wall of

the Lady Chapel, and, in fact, forming its foundations, are two of these old arches, one of which is partly filled up with masonry. There are also two more arches of the same character, one on the north side, and the other on the south, this last being immediately underneath the piscina and sedilia of the Lady Chapel, which have likewise been revealed in the course of the operations.

The old stone steps leading down into the crypt have also been found at the west end of the Lady Chapel. These will, of course, be preserved, and all the stone work be carefully restored.

This chamber was evidently the crypt of a much older building; and as the traditions of the place inform us that Aylesbury possessed a church in very early times, it is not impossible that this may have been the very site of the Saxon building where St. Osyth is said to have been buried in the ninth century.

E. B.

Obituary.

ADMIRAL SMYTH, F.R.S., F.R.A.S., ETC.

Although several notices of the late ADMIRAL SMYTH have already been printed, as in "Fraser's Magazine," in the "Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society," and in the Address of Sir R. I. Murchison, Bart., President of the Royal Geographical Society, etc., etc., a brief obituary of this distinguished man may fitly find a place in the "Records of the Bucks Archæological Society," not only because he was one of its Vice-Presidents, but also because he took a lively interest in its proceedings, and contrived, amidst the pressure of other and more arduous labours, to send some valuable and interesting communications to these pages.

WILLIAM HENRY SMYTH was born January 21, 1788. He was an only son. His father was J. B. P. Smyth, Esq., of New Jersey; his mother was a granddaughter of Rev. M. Pilkington. Mr. J. B. P. Smyth distinguished himself during the American War of Independence, by his zeal for the cause of the mother country; but upon the triumph of the revolutionists, his patriotism cost him the loss of large family possessions. Young Smyth, directed by that instinct which has prompted so many to seek their fortunes on the sea, found himself at a very early age on board a West India merchantman, and was fortunate enough to be under an intelligent and kind commander, a master in the Royal Navy, who appreciated the abilities of the boy, and instructed him in the rudiments of seamanship. Not long afterwards he joined the East India Company's ship "Cornwallis"; and when this vessel was purchased by Government and commissioned as a frigate under the command of Captain C. Johnston, a talented officer, his youthful wishes were gratified, and he entered service in the Navy. During the following five years of long cruises in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, he availed himself of the opportunity of studying hydrography, based on astronomy, which stamped his future life. Having subsequently acquitted himself with ability and credit in other vessels, he was appointed in 1810 to the command of a Spanish

gun-boat named the "*Mors aut Gloria*," in which he greatly distinguished himself during the operations of the flotilla in the defence of Cadiz. On the 15th of March, 1813, he received a Lieutenant's commission, on the recommendation of Lord Melville, a promotion which was due, not less to his eminent services as an officer, than to his carefully and accurately executed charts of *La Isla-de-Leon* and the neighbouring coast.

Almost immediately after this commission he was appointed to a command in the Anglo-Sicilian fleet at *Messina*.

The abdication of Napoleon in April, 1814, having put an end for a time to the European war, Lieutenant Smyth had leisure to apply himself to a detailed survey of the island of Sicily; and the plans and charts which he then executed, having been highly commended to the notice of the Board of Admiralty, procured for him another step up the ladder. On September 18th, 1815, he was advanced to the rank of Commander. The peace being now continued, he was next engaged in archaeological pursuits, and collected several interesting specimens of ancient architecture from *Leptis Magna*, in Barbary, for our Government. These specimens are now at Windsor, and have been largely used as architectural models.

About this time he entered upon one of his greatest works, the "Survey of the Mediterranean," an employment which developed and confirmed his aptitude for astronomical study. While thus engaged, he formed an intimate acquaintance with the great Italian astronomer, *Piazzi*.

At this period he formed also another acquaintance, destined to have an important influence on the success and happiness of his future life. It was at *Messina* that he was first introduced to Annarella Warrington, daughter of T. Warrington, Esq., a long-established Banker and Merchant at Naples. This highly-gifted and excellent lady became his wife on October 7, 1815; and thenceforth was for fifty years not only his beloved companion, but also his able assistant in all his literary and scientific labours.

His survey of the Mediterranean Sea, stimulated by his acquaintance with *Piazzi*, seems to have roused into activity his latent love for astronomy, and he resolved to enter upon "a wider scrutiny of the general sidereal phenomena." The results of these labours are given in the "*Celestial Cycle*," a work which, together with his "Survey of the Mediterranean," has established his reputation for ever, as a singularly accurate observer and a man of science of the first order.

It should be mentioned that the observations which were the foundation of the "*Celestial Cycle*" were chiefly made during his residence at Bedford, where he erected an excellent Observatory. This Observatory was dismantled in 1839; and the Equatorial which he had employed with so much success was then removed to Hartwell, near Aylesbury, and placed in another Observatory, built under his direction for Dr. Lee. This instrument he frequently used during the latter part of his life; and the result was a work called "*Speculum Hartwellianum*," which appeared in 1860. This publication contains the history of many of the more remarkable double stars, amongst which γ *Virginia* deserves special mention; for it was from the wonderfully accurate measures by Admiral Smyth that Mr. Hind computed the elements of the orbit of this comparison star.

These are the works by which the name of Admiral Smyth will live amongst scientific men. But they by no means comprehend the whole of his labours. He was never idle. All intervals of his busy life were filled up with what to most men would have been studies, but to him were recreations. In Archaeology he collected a cabinet of Roman large brass coins, of which he published an account. He also compiled a descriptive catalogue of the Northumberland Collection, which was printed in a handsome quarto by the Duke. In biography, he wrote a life of "Captain Beaver," in which he tells, with much originality and power, how a noble English sailor lived and died. Besides these, he wrote for twenty years of his life for the *United Service Journal*; and whatever he wrote was always worth reading.

The last fifteen years of his life were spent at St. John's Lodge, near Aylesbury, where his noble simplicity of character, his high morality, his genial temper, and his varied information, gained for him a universal esteem and affection. He became Vice-Admiral in 1858, and Admiral in 1863.

Though his late years were spent in comparative retirement, his mental vigour remained unimpaired to the last ; and he was engaged in preparing another work for the press when his earthly end arrived. His death was somewhat sudden, as indeed he desired that it might be. Till within the last few days of his life, no one seems to have apprehended that his change was so near. Early in September, 1865, he had an attack, from which, however, he rallied so far as to be able to take his usual drive, and to pursue his employments at home. On Friday, September 8th, he was as cheerful as usual, and sufficiently well in the evening to adjust a small telescope to show the planet *Jupiter* to his little grandson, Arthur Smyth Flower. But this was almost the last act of his life. He retired to rest at his usual hour. In the night he was seized with a sudden hæmorrhage on the lungs, and shortly afterwards, on the morning of September 9, 1865, died peacefully and without a struggle. His body rests in the churchyard of Stone, near Aylesbury, by the side of his beloved daughter, Caroline Mary. He was in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

For a more full obituary of Admiral Smyth, the reader is referred to the papers mentioned at the beginning of this notice. It may suffice here to say, that he has left his mark behind him as a man of rare intellectual vigour, of high moral courage, of great accuracy of thought, and of very varied accomplishments. He was great in the active duties of his profession ; great as an astronomer ; great as a geographer ; great, we may truly say, in everything that he touched ; but greatest of all in his contempt for all that was mean and sordid, in his admiration of everything that was true and intellectual. To these high qualifications he added a thorough kindness of disposition, a generosity in imparting the fruits of his labours to others, a sailor-like frankness and simplicity of character, and a sprightliness of wit, which made him a favourite everywhere, even amongst those who could hardly appreciate the higher qualities of his mind.

Such men are a real loss, when it pleases God to remove them. And never are such losses more felt than in an age like the present, of great intellectual activity, the very buoyancy of which needs the counterpoise of steadfast principle. The late Admiral combined with the successful pursuit of Science in all its branches, a humble trust in God, and an unflinching faith in Divine Revelation. He has left no unworthy representatives behind him in his accomplished widow and his intellectual and distinguished children ; and his name bids fair to be handed onwards, with that breadth and force of character which made him so great, and which fills us with gratitude to the Giver of all good things, who made him what he was.

E. B.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting took place July 26th, 1866, at Addington Manor, the seat of J. G. Hubbard, Esq., M.P. The members first met at Buckingham, and inspected the important work of restoration now being carried on in the Parish Church. The plans had been prepared by Mr. Gilbert Scott, the diocesan architect, some time previously, at the request of the late vicar, the Rev. H. Roundell. The old walls have been preserved, but pierced for larger windows, in the early decorated style. The windows have two lights, with no cusps at the head of the lights, but cusps introduced between the lights. The capitols of the buttresses are richly carved, representing the ivy, geranium, dockleaf, naturalistic columbine, cinquefoil, vine and grape, a more conventional columbine, maple, oak, shamrock, etc. An entirely new chancel is being erected, at the sole cost of the Duke of Buckingham. A

chancel aisle, to contain the organ and vestry, is being added by the munificence of Mr. Hubbard. A handsome vaulted roof of wood is to be supported by massive pillars. The altar will be a very large one, approached by seven steps. The painting which has hitherto been placed in the east end of the church (a copy from one of Raphael's works) will take the place of a reredos. In order to make room for it, it has been necessary to make the window shorter inside than outside. There will be choir stalls and seats for the clergy on each side. The interior of the church will undergo a thorough alteration. A small memorial window to the Rev. H. Roundell (by Clayton and Bell) will shortly be placed in the church by the curates who worked with him.

From Buckingham the party drove to Chetwode. An account of the Priory and Church of Chetwode has appeared in the "Records," vol. i. p. 206; and further particulars will appear in the next number.

The visitors then proceeded to Hillesden. The church was rebuilt in 1493, with the exception of the tower, which is probably about fifty years earlier. There are still to be observed on the east side of the tower the marks indicating the position of the roof of an earlier church. Mr. Parker stated that, had he judged from the appearance of the building only, he should have assigned a somewhat earlier date to the church—say about 1450. It is evident, from the strength of the buttresses, that it was at first intended to build a central tower, but, probably for want of funds, the design was abandoned, and fortunately the old tower had not been pulled down. This church is a very good example of the perpendicular style, and preserves the Gothic character more completely than most churches of the date of 1493. The four-centered arch window in the chancel aisle illustrates the transition from the Gothic to our square sash windows. The chancel had most likely a fan-tracery roof, supported by the curious row of angels still to be seen. The window at the east end of the south aisle was examined, but nothing was elicited as to its bearing on the life of St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the church, beyond what has already been published in the "Records," and copied into the "History of Buckinghamshire." There is a chamber above the chancel aisle, with an exterior door opening towards the site of the old manor house. There are some openings in the wall of this chamber, now concealed by a monument, showing that this may have been designed as a watch-chamber, for watching the lights before the shrines of the saints. These watch-chambers are frequently found over porches, but more rarely, as in this instance, over the chancel aisles. They were generally used to contain the chest enclosing the parish documents. At Hillesden, it is said, the chest was broken open by a former incumbent, and the greater part of the documents destroyed.

From Hillesden the party proceeded towards Claydon House, stopping on the way to pay a hasty visit to Steeple Claydon Church, the spire of which was erected in 1862 by Mr. Calvert, Q.C., as a memorial to his father, the late Sir Harry Calvert. The guests were received with the greatest courtesy by Sir Harry and Lady Verney, and were conducted over the mansion by Sir Harry Verney himself. Though the mansion itself possesses no striking architectural features, the historic treasures preserved by the Verney family are of the deepest interest. Among these we may notice the ring of Sir Edmund Verney, standard bearer to Charles I., which contains a miniature of Charles I., and was taken from the finger of the owner after his death at Edge-hall. Another relic of perhaps greater interest is a series of pencil notes, taken from day to day by Sir Ralph Verney, M.P. for Aylesbury, of proceedings in Parliament at the time of the arrest of the five members.

From Claydon the visitors proceeded to Addington Manor, the residence of J. G. Hubbard, Esq., M.P., where they were most hospitably welcomed by the proprietor. The guests, after partaking of a sumptuous luncheon, assembled in the hall, where the proceedings of the Annual Meeting took place.

On the motion of Archdeacon BICKERSTETH, Mr. Hubbard was requested to take the chair.

The SECRETARY read a letter from the Duke of Buckingham, stating that his duties in London would prevent his joining the meeting: If, however, it should meet with the approval of the Society to arrange their meeting for another year in the neighbourhood either of Stowe or of Wootton, he should look forward with much pleasure to entertaining the members.

The ARCHDEACON said this letter had been considered by the Committee, who had resolved to recommend to the general meeting that the Duke of Buckingham's kind offer be accepted, and that Wootton would be a convenient centre for the next annual meeting. The Secretary was desired to write to the Duke of Buckingham accordingly.

The Report of the Committee was read as follows:—

"Your Committee have the satisfaction of congratulating the Society upon the success of its proceedings during the past year, and beg to thank the Rev. T. Evetts for his kind aid and assistance at the annual meeting held in the school-room at Monks Risborough.

"Your Committee regret the loss by death, since the last annual meeting, of three of the Vice-Presidents of the Society—viz., Admiral Smyth, John Lee, Esq., and Thomas Raymond Barker, Esq.; and beg to nominate for election to the three vacant offices, in accordance with the rules of the Society, the Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli, M.P., F. D. Hibbert, Esq., and the Rev. J. J. Goodall.

"Your Committee have accepted with regret the resignation, tendered through illness, of the secretaryship by the Rev. W. T. Sankey, and beg to nominate for election the Rev. J. Wood.

"Your Committee conveyed through their Secretary the resolution, passed at the last annual meeting, of a vote of thanks to Mrs. Roundell, for the offer of a loan of books and articles of antiquarian interest, and have pleasure in reporting that they are now deposited in the Society's Museum.

"Your Committee have received the following presents—From John Lee, Esq., Anglo-Saxon remains, discovered on the Hartwell estate; from Captain H. Toynbee, objects of natural history; from Mrs. Kelke, rubbings of brasses, fossils, and a coat of arms in porcelain, found at Little Missenden; and from Herbert Paston Cooper, Esq., Romano-British urn, found on Haydon Hill—and trust that when relics of the past are discovered, though intrinsically of little value, they may be deposited in the County Museum in Aylesbury, thus giving them a permanent resting-place, and contributing very materially to the value of the collection as a whole."

On the motion of the Rev. W. R. FREMANTLE, seconded by Sir H. VERNEY, the report was adopted.

The Right Honourable B. Disraeli, M.P., F. D. Hibbert, Esq., and the Rev. J. J. Goodall were elected vice-presidents, to fill up the three vacancies; the Rev. John Wood was elected one of the honorary secretaries, in the room of the Rev. W. T. Sankey; and the remaining officers and the Committee were re-appointed.

The Rev. A. BAKER read a letter from the Rev. F. G. Lee, apologizing for the non-fulfilment of a promise to send a paper on heraldry and genealogy, which he considered would be uninteresting to the meeting, but which he undertook to furnish for publication in the "Records." Mr. Lee also sent for exhibition six curious documents connected with the family of Lee, one of which, a deed of the fifth year of Henry VIII., he considered to be conclusive as to the fact that the Lees of Quarrendon (of which his grandfather represented the younger branch) and the Lees of Hartwell, were originally one family, though bearing different arms.

Mr. F. P. BARRAUD next read an elaborate paper on "the character and beauties of medallion windows of the thirteenth century," of which, he observed, there are fine examples in Canterbury and Lincoln Cathedrals, and in various places on the Continent. A modification of these, he believed, might advantageously be adopted in our parish churches. He considered the great variety of colour now in use to be a temptation to the artist to seek for

a pretty effect rather than breadth and simplicity. The over-crowding of figures in each subject must be carefully avoided. He observed that the names of very few of the artists of the thirteenth century have come down to us, but he believed that some of the painting attributed to foreign artists was really done by Kentish painters. In a painting representing the parable of the sower, the stony ground is represented exactly like chalk, showing the soil to which they were accustomed.

The ARCHDEACON expressed his regret that Mr. Barraud had not been able to join the visit to Hillesden and Chetwode, where some beautiful stained glass, of the school of Albert Durer, was to be seen. He entirely concurred in Mr. Barraud's remarks as to the advantage of not over-doing colour, but of introducing the bright colours sparingly on a light ground.

The Rev. W. R. FREMANTLE then read a paper, which will be printed in the "Records," on the lapsed parish of Hogshaw-cum-Fulbrook.

The ARCHDEACON remarked that there were other similar cases of lapsed parishes in the county—for example, *Creslow*, which had been absorbed by Whitchurch. He could specify endowments for a daily service at *Quaranton*, *Bierton*, *Stone* and *Buckland*, when they were all connected with Aylesbury. With regard to the derivation of *Hogshaw*, he believed that it was of religious origin, and that it meant "the Hill of the Holy Cross," Holy Cross, or Crux, being corrupted into Hogs, and "haw," or "hoe," meaning a hill,—"Holy Cross Hill." Similarly, *Swanbourne*, formerly written Swinbourne, is derived from Swithinbourne, St. Swithin being the patron saint of the village; while the neighbouring parish of *Hogston* is derived, like *Hogshaw*, from Holy Cross, or "Holy Crux-ton."

The Rev. J. W. HAYWARD stated that some of the stones of the church at *Hogshaw* had found their way to Grandborough. One very curious piece of sculpture, representing our Lord with St. John and St. Mary, at present forms the outside of the chimney of a farm-house. With regard to the font, he found it used as a dog kennel, and he had caused it to be transferred to the more honourable position it now occupies.

The Rev. C. LOWNDES exhibited tracings from three frescoes discovered about fourteen years ago in Whaddon Church—one representing the murder of Thomas-a-Becket, another St. Edmund, and another a priest blessing the people.

Mr. WHITE then gave an architectural account of the work recently carried on at Fenny Stratford church—a work not of restoration, but of renovation and considerable addition. The old church was built by Browne Willis, at a time when architecture was at its lowest ebb. Instead of adding a chancel to the old nave, they had built an entirely new nave and chancel, leaving the old nave as an aisle to what might be called the new church. The introduction of the organ between the old nave and the new chancel had been of the greatest utility in carrying out the general plan of the work. The pulpit was placed on the south side. The chancel was fitted for a proper choral arrangement.

The Rev. A. BAKER laid on the table plans for the restoration of Mursley church, expressing his regret that Mr. Buckridge, the architect, was not present to explain them.

There was another paper to be read by Mr. E. J. Payne, on "The County Arms," but, owing to the lateness of the hour, the reading was postponed until another meeting.

Sir H. VERNER, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Hubbard, remarked on the value of the Society as tending to communicate information on subjects most interesting and valuable to all. He regretted that some gentleman, as thoroughly acquainted with the subject of painted glass as Mr. Barraud, had not had the opportunity of carefully examining beforehand the window at Hillesden, so as to be able to offer the best explanation possible. Local history was not only the handmaid, but the foundation of general history, and he hoped these institutions would habitually collect all the facts they could, and the local traditions, which were often extremely valuable.

He considered that the archæologists of 200 years hence would feel under great obligations to the Vicar of Buckingham, to whom the excursionists this day were so much indebted, and, as even archæologists were not independent of creature comforts, he could not omit to add that they were greatly indebted to Mr. Hubbard for his hospitable entertainment.

The ARCHDEACON, in seconding the vote of thanks, observed that some interesting notices of the window at Hillesden were communicated to the "Records" some years since by Rev. J. Slatter, Vicar of Streatley. With regard to the particular object of his now rising, he was well aware that there was nothing that affected the social interests of what he might call Mr. Hubbard's adopted county, in which he was not always ready to afford valuable and efficient aid. He trusted that Mr. Hubbard might long preside, with his wonted amiable and Christian manner, over the interests of this neighbourhood.

Mr. HUBBARD having briefly acknowledged the compliment, the company dispersed, after spending a very pleasant day.

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ON THE CHARACTER AND BEAUTIES OF MEDALLION WINDOWS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

BY F. P. BARRAUD, ESQ.

Before commencing the subject of this paper, allow me to express my deep sense of the honour which has been conferred upon me by the request of your secretary that I would select a subject for consideration, and give you my thoughts upon it. It appears to me that I cannot do better (as I am unacquainted with the objects of interest in this neighbourhood) than bring to your notice the characteristics and beauties of the medallion windows of the thirteenth century; for though there are not very many examples of them existing in England, and the opportunities of reproducing them at the present time on a large scale are not frequent, still some very fine specimens remain in the cathedrals of Canterbury and Lincoln, and on the Continent there are many which have escaped the various dangers to which those in our own country have been exposed, and which are consequently perfect both in composition and detail, and are therefore worthy of the careful study of those who are interested in this subject; and I think that a modification of the large medallion windows which I propose to speak of may be adopted with very excellent effect in many of our parish churches.

The process of the manufacture of stained glass windows is now pretty generally known, but as those of the thirteenth century carry out the mosaic principle more perfectly than any others, it may be well briefly to describe it, so that the beauties to which I desire to draw your attention may be more thoroughly appreciated.

A design being first made, and the general arrangement of colour being decided, the full-size drawing, both of subject and ornament, showing the exact position of

each lead, as well as the disposition of the geometrical iron work (which in these windows is a very important feature), must be prepared and coloured, a second full-size drawing is then made, showing the arrangement of the leading only, and from this the glass is cut, each separate piece being of the colour required. The outlines and shadows are then painted upon the surface of the glass in an opaque enamel, and the separate portions are placed upon the shelves of the kiln to be fired, the front of the kiln is built up with fire-bricks and plaster of Paris, and the fire lighted below, so that the flames encircle the whole, and the glass attains one uniform heat throughout. This occupies about eight or ten hours, according to the size of the kiln, and the proper moment for reducing the heat is decided by the appearance of the glass, which is examined through "proof-holes," which are left in the front of the kiln for that purpose. The fire is then raked out, and the front taken down, and after a few hours the shelves are partially drawn out, so as to allow the glass to cool gradually. The various pieces (several thousands in number) are then again laid out upon the drawing, and put together in lead by the glazier; the joints being soldered on both sides, a moist cement is brushed in, which afterwards hardens and renders the whole perfectly secure and weather-proof. The geometrical arrangement of these windows is so wonderfully varied, that it is difficult to find two in which the same design occurs; indeed, I do not know of a single instance of the same form being repeated, though I have carefully studied the various examples at Canterbury and Lincoln, as well as those at Rouen, Chartres, Le Mans, Bourges, Tours, and other French churches. I have selected some for illustration, but they are so numerous, that it is only possible to show a few of them. It will be observed that in some windows the subjects are nearly uniform in size, and that in others there are two series of subjects, the one large, the other smaller; in this case the smaller medallions contain figures of prophets or other personages having some connection with the general subject, as in the Eustacius window at Chartres. The scheme of subjects also is most interesting, and may be made the means of much religious teaching. In some instances we find a series of events

in the life or passion of our Lord, with the Old Testament types of each event surrounding it (as in the east window of à Becket's Crown at Canterbury, the Lady Chapel, Le Mans, etc.); in other cases, the history of some Old Testament worthy or Christian saint fills the whole window, a legend descriptive of each incident being placed below it. The subjects are (I think almost invariably) read upwards, beginning at the dexter base of the window.

The tree of Jesse is also a favourite subject, and some of the most effective windows of the period are illustrative of the genealogy of our blessed Lord in this manner. One of the finest examples is the south light of the western triplet of Chartres Cathedral. This dates from the twelfth century, and perhaps comes less strictly under the denomination of a medallion window than one of great beauty in the Lady Chapel of Le Mans, in which are figures of Jesse, David, Solomon, etc., in the centre, with a prophet in each of the half quatrefoil medallions on either side of them, the upper medallion being occupied by a figure of our Lord, whose head is surrounded by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit,* represented by as many doves. The medallions in the centre of the light are formed by the branches of the tree, which break into beautiful conventional foliage wherever it is required to complete the composition. The half quatrefoils are formed of beaded fillets of white, etc., laid upon a background of red and blue mosaic. I have a small drawing of a portion of this window made on the spot, but there is a careful reduction of the whole, and full-size drawings of the separate figures, in Hucher's "*Vitraux du Mans*," which may be seen in the library of the Kensington Museum. There is also another window of this subject in the triforium of the same cathedral, in which the colouring is very cleverly arranged, and has an excellent effect from the floor. Here also the head of our Lord is surrounded by the seven doves.

We must now speak of the general arrangement of these windows, which, as I have before said, is varied in a wonderful degree. In the nave of Chartres Cathedral medallions are exclusively used, the geometrical forms

* Sapientia, Intellectus, Fortitudo, Pietas, Consilium, Scientia, Timor.

are varied in every case, and the ground upon which the medallions are laid is composed in alternate windows of conventional foliage of exquisite design, and of varied and rich mosaics, the border in every instance being composed of foliage with—in some instances—figures introduced among it. These windows are 7 ft. 6 in. wide, so that there is ample space for a good and well-proportioned design. The borders are 10 in. wide, and the upright bars of the iron frame divide them from the inner portion of the composition; the same size and proportion exist in the windows of the eastern transept and choir aisles of Canterbury, where the designs are very similar in character to those already referred to, though equally varied in detail. There is one in particular which is very satisfactory both in composition and colour, and which, though mutilated, has had its deficient parts cleverly replaced by Mr. Austin. I allude to the one illustrative of the miracles of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The medallions in this window are pear-shaped, in groups of four, the points being placed in the centre, and the four medallions forming a quatrefoil, laid upon a red and blue mosaic, surrounded by a border of foliage. The colours of the mosaic grounds in these windows, as well as in those of Chartres, are so well proportioned, and the colours themselves are so well chosen, that the windows have not in any instance a purple or plum-colour effect from a distance—a defect so common in modern mosaic windows and one which entirely destroys their beauty. This is not the case in all instances at Bourges, where there is one window in particular in which this defect is so remarkable, that it is difficult to persuade oneself that it is not a modern work. It is situated in the north choir aisle, near the entrance to the sacristy. If the blue and ruby are equally proportioned in a mosaic, or if the blue be of a purplish instead of a grey tone, and the ruby rather pink than scarlet, the result is sure to be unsatisfactory. In the best of the ancient examples the proportion is generally about one-third of blue to two-thirds of ruby, or *vice versâ*, and the colours are not so deep as one is apt to imagine, judging from the rich and mellow effect of the whole, but of a delicate and pure tone, making a rich effect when combined. No doubt, the decay of the outer surface of these old windows, and the accumulation of

dust and dirt, have much to do with the depth of tone which they possess; but close examination, or thoroughly cleaning portions of the glass, will prove the truth of what I have stated.

The subjects are treated in a very simple manner, which renders them very distinct when seen from a distance, the figures are in most instances clearly relieved by the background; and when this is not the case, the draperies are so coloured that each figure separates itself from its neighbour. They are generally all on one plain, and stand upon a sort of bridge which carries the legend, and admits of the background of the medallion being shown through the arches and so dispersed uniformly over the whole space. Architecture or trees are frequently made use of with good effect, to break up the background in the upper part of the medallion. The colours used by the early artists are very few, being limited to blue, red, green, yellow, a rich brown, and various tones of white: besides these, one occasionally meets with a brown pink of delicate tint, but this is generally used in small proportion to the other colours. It would be well if the colours at our disposal in the present day were equally limited. I look upon the great variety of colours now in use as a snare to the artist, tempting him to obtain a *pretty* effect rather than breadth and simplicity; and though many of the modern colours are exceedingly beautiful in themselves, they require to be combined with the most consummate skill and taste, in order to produce an harmonious and pleasing result. It is a matter of regret that we know so little of the artists of the thirteenth century, who have left so many of their works for our study and admiration. I believe that only two are known even by name. M. Bourquelot* mentions Ballardus and Clement as having both been engaged upon the windows of Chartres Cathedral. The former has not signed any of his works, but there is evidence of the latter having been engaged at Rouen, where a window in the choir aisle of that cathedral contains a figure bearing a scroll, on which are the words "*Clemens vitrearius Carnutensis me fecit;*" and many of the windows of Chartres are so similar in character that one may reason-

* "*Histoire de la Peinture et des Arts du dessin.*"

ably presume that they were designed and executed by him or under his direction. M. Bulteau, in his interesting work descriptive of the cathedral, says, that it is supposed that Clement was engaged upon the windows of Chartres before going to Rouen. It is imagined that most of the examples which exist in this country were the work of French artists, but I doubt whether this supposition is entirely correct; and I think we may fairly argue that some of those in Canterbury Cathedral were designed by Englishmen, and even Kentishmen, from the fact that in two medallions illustrative of the parable of the sower, the "stony ground" is represented as *chalk*.

The artists of the middle ages were much influenced in their designs by the objects around them, as is evident from the frequent introduction of the leaves of the oak, the maple, the ivy, and the ash in decoration and carving; and I believe that the abundance of chalk in Kent suggested to the artist of this window the representation I have mentioned of the "stony ground." There is a peculiar beauty which I have observed in some windows which I must not omit to mention, and of which this one of the "sower" is a good example, viz., the clever way in which the various medallions are united, by an ingeniously contrived and elegant knot.

I have said, that I think a modification of the general arrangement of the windows I have attempted to describe, may be used with very good effect on a smaller scale in our parish churches. The design must be simple and distinct, and an over-crowding of subjects, or of figures in each subject, must be carefully avoided; and I think we may take as excellent examples in this respect the windows of the south transept of Lincoln Cathedral, where the figures are all draped in white on a deep blue ground; and some of the clerestory windows of the nave of Chartres Cathedral, where there are only two figures of apostles in each medallion, seated, and separated by a shaft from which springs a double arch. The figures in these cases are perfectly distinct when seen from a distance, a result which should always be aimed at. When the mosaic portion of the window and the ground of the medallions are rich in colour, the effect of figures entirely in tones of white is very sparkling and satisfactory.

The scheme of subjects affords much opportunity for

thought, whether in an individual window or as applied to a whole church. An arrangement of New Testament subjects, with events from the Old Testament, typical of them and showing the connection between the two covenants, may be made very interesting and instructive, as well as capable of artistic treatment. The miracles and parables of our Lord also afford good scope for design, and the Acts of the Holy Apostles are full of incidents for illustration.

I trust that in all respects the art of glass-painting is advancing, and that those who have devoted themselves to it, are striving to produce real works of art, and such as will be at the same time worthy of a place in houses dedicated to the glory of God, and capable of suggesting thought and affording instruction to those who see them.

THE LEES OF QUARRENDON.

BY THE REV. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.C.L.,
F.S.A. LOND. AND SCOT.

[PART THE FIRST.]

This family is of very ancient origin, and came originally from Cheshire. It occupied a distinguished position at Wybunbury in that county in the thirty-eighth year of King Edward III., while from a junior member who settled at Quarrendon, co. Bucks, in the reign of King Henry VII., was descended Sir Henry Lee, the celebrated Knight of the Garter, *temp.* Queen Elizabeth. Sir Henry Lee, Knight, of Dytechley, co. Oxon, first cousin and heir of the above, was created a Baronet by King James I., 22nd May, 1611; and his great-grandson, Sir Edward Henry Lee, was by King Charles II. raised to the peerage as Earl of Litchfield, Viscount Quarrendon, and Baron Lee, of Spelsbury, co. Oxon, on the 5th July, 1674. This peerage became extinct upon the death of Robert, fourth Earl, in 1776; when the estates in the counties of Bucks and Oxon passed to Henry the eleventh Viscount Dillon, of Ireland, who had

married 26th October, 1745, Lady Charlotte Lee, the eldest daughter of George Henry, second Earl of Litchfield, and whose great-grandson now represents the main branch through the female line. Other representatives of the ancient family exist, the intermarriages for many generations having been numerous.*

It is the object of the writer of this paper to give correct and reliable information of the main and all other branches of this family, commencing formally with Benedict Lee, of Quarrendon, who settled there A.D. 1438. In the first place, the pedigree connecting this Benedict with the Lees of Cheshire will be set forth. It should be remembered, however, that several recorded pedigrees in the College of Arms differ somewhat materially one from the other. The writer has the advantage of being able to consult five independent pedigrees, all transcripts of originals, possessed by different branches of the family; and thus may be able, in some degree, not only to reconcile certain existing differences, but to add, from these and from other sources, some valuable information with regard to a gentle, knightly, and noble family of considerable renown, and formerly of high position. The first pedigree, which will be referred to under the mark (A), is a transcript from one originally belonging to the second Earl of Litchfield; the second (B) is copied from a MS. in the possession of Cosmas Nevill, of Holt, co. Leicester, Esq.; the third (C) is transcribed from a most interesting original of the date A.D. 1611, at Brockhall, co. Northampton, the seat of the Rev. T. C. Thornton; the fourth (D) from one formerly in the possession of John Lee, Esq., great-grandfather of the late Rev. T. T. Lee, B.A., of Thame and Stokenchurch, co. Oxon; and the fifth (E) from a manuscript in the possession of General H. D. Townshend, of Trevallyn, the representative, in the female line, of the Coton Hall branch of the Lees. In

* Amongst these are the following:—The Thorntons, of Brockhall, co. Northampton; the Dods, of Cloverley, co. Salop; Lord Clifford, of Chudleigh; the Nevills, of Holt, co. Leicester; Sir Piers Mostyn, Bart.; Lord Vaux, of Harrowden; the late Lord Palmerston; Sir Alfred Slade, Bart.; the Gore-Langtons, of Somersetshire; the Bishop of Manchester, the Rev. James Prince Lee, D.D.; Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, Bart., M.P., LL.D., of Ashford Park, co. Galway; the Lees of Thame, co. Oxon; Henry Lee, Esq., of Barna, co. Tipperary; Sir George Philip Lee, Knt., etc.

pedigree (B) the Quarrendon Lees are thus connected with the Lees of Cheshire :—

Sir Walter At Lee, of y^e manor of= . . .

Lee, of Lee Hall there in the parish
of Wibenbury, in y^e County Pala-
tine of Chester, y^e 36 of King
Edward y^e 3, whose ancestors had
been there seated for ages

Sir John at Lee, of Lee Hall, 1 K.=Isabel, dau. to Sir Piers de Dutton,
Richard y^e 2d. of Dutton, com. Chester, kt.

John Lee, of Lee Hall, in Cheshire,=Elizabeth, dau. to Sir Thomas Foulshurst,
esq., King Henry y^e 4th. of Crewe Hall, com. Chester, kt.

Thomas Lee, of Lee Hall, in Che.=Elizabeth, dau. to Sir John Aston,
shire, esq., King Henry y^e 6th. kt.*

John Lee, of Lee Hall, in Cheshire,=Margerie, dau. to Sir Ralph Hocknell,
esq., King Henry 6. of Hocknell Hall, com. Chester, kt.

BENEDICT LEE, of Quarrendon, com. Bucks, esq., a younger son ;
King Edward y^e 4th, K. Henry 7th.

Upon this it should be remarked (a), that in Pedigree A, Sir Thomas Foulshurst is called "Sir Thomas Fowlechurch," and that side by side with the John Lee who married Elizabeth Foulshurst are placed the names of two brothers not mentioned above, Richard Lee and John Lee; also (b) that in the same pedigree Sir John Aston is called "Sir John Astron of Astron, Cheshire," and that his daughter's name is given as "Alice," and not as Elizabeth.

The brothers of Benedict Lee, Esq., of Quarrendon, stand as follows in Pedigree A :—

John Lee, of Lee Hall, esq.=Margaret, dau. of Sir Ralph Hocknell,
of Hocknell Hall, in Cheshire.

1. Tho= mas Lee, of Lee Hall.	Wini- freda Cotton.	2. John= Grace Lee, of Astron, in Staf- fordshire.	Bagot.	3. Wil= liam Har- Lee, of Essex.	Mary Har- leton.	5. BENE= dict Lee, beth, of Quar- rendon, John Bucks. Wood, esq.
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4. Robert Lee, of Astron, in Staffordshire.

* On an ancient silver seal of the sixteenth century, now in the possession of W. J. Legh, Esq., of Lyme Hall, co. Chester, which the writer of this paper recently inspected, and of which he took impressions, the ancient arms of Aston, co. Chester, appear in the second quarter, thereby connecting the Leghs of Lyme with the Leghs or Lees of Wibenbury. Lyme Hall contains some interesting ancient heraldic glass.

In Pedigree C the information is slightly different, and given at greater length. On the latter account, therefore, it is worthy of being reproduced:—

Thomas Lee.	John Lee, of Lee, in the parish of Wibonbury, in com. Chester.	Margery, dau. of . . . Hocknell.	Richard Lee.	William Lee.
Thomas Lee, in Che- shire, eldest son of John	Wynne- fred, dau. of Cotton shire, seconde sone.	John Lee, of Aston (sic), in Stafford- shire, seconde sone.	Grace, dau. of . . . Bagot.	BENE-Eliza- DICT, beth, Lee, of Quaren- don, in Woode, com. of War- Buck. fifte sone.
			Robert Lee, of Aston, in Staf- ford- shire, fourth sone.	Francis Lee, sixt sone.

William Lee, of Essex, third sone. dau. of John Harleton.

Thus much, then, with regard to the descents as far down as Benedict Lee, the founder of the Lees of Quarrendon. The question now arises,



ORIGINAL ARMS OF LEE
OF CHESHIRE.

what arms were borne by him? The ancient arms of Lee of Lee Hall were, *Argent, a chevron (or a fesse, for both appear) between three leopards' heads sable*.* The following arms were also borne by the Lees of Wybunbury: *Gules, a lion rampant or*.† These arms are found again and again repeated in either the second or third quartering of the Lees of Quarrendon, in the MS. description, now in the British Museum, of the armorial

bearings at (formerly existing in) St. Peter's, Quarrendon, the family burying-place, by Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald. In one shield of the Lees, for example,

* The Leghs of East Hall, in High Lee, co. Chester, bear the following arms, allowed in 1566: *Argent, a lion rampant gules, armed and langued azure*. The Leighs of West Hall, in High Leigh, now bear the following arms, allowed in 1563: *Or, a lion rampant gules, armed and langued azure*. Originally this branch of the Leghs bore, *Gules, a pale fusillé argent*.

† These arms appear in the first quarter of the arms of Sir Anthony Lee (wrongly called Sir Henry Lee), impaling those of Wyatt, co. Kent, at fol. 104 of the MS. of Nicholas Charles, Lancaster Herald (Lansdowne MSS., British Museum, No. 874).

containing eight quarterings—in the first of which appears the annulet, as a mark of cadency—the arms, *Gules, a lion rampant or*, stand second.*

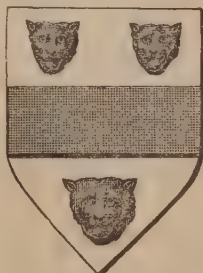
It appears, however, tolerably certain that Benedict Lee, who settled at Quarrendon, A.D. 1438, and who, as is learnt from a deed in the possession of Lord Viscount Dillon, was made Constable of Quarrendon in 1441, continued to use the arms, as already given, which the family had borne in Cheshire. He married, as one of the above pedigrees states, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Wood, of Warwickshire, Esq., by whom he had issue three sons:—

1. Richard Lee, styled “firmare” [farmer] in a deed dated 1472, was likewise, like his father, Constable of Quarrendon, and bore for his arms, *Argent, a fess between three crescents sable*.

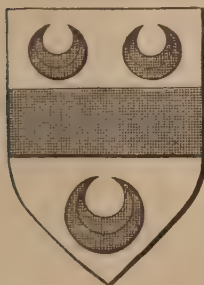
2. Edward Lee, Constable of Quarrendon from A.D. 1485 to 1486.

3. Robert Lee, Constable of Quarrendon from A.D. 1486 to 1496.

The arms borne by Richard Lee (whether by grant or by assumption is not now easily determined, as there is no record of such a grant at the College of Arms) are undoubtedly those which, since his day, have been invariably used by his descendants, and by every branch of such, including that more direct branch which was ennobled, and the other branches which sprung from the main stock during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They occurred on every monumental memorial at Quarrendon; according to Nicholas Charles’s MS., no less than



THE ARMS OF WOOD,
CO. WARWICK.



THE ARMS OF LEE, OF
QUARRENDON, CO. BUCKS.

* The same arms and quarterings (the eighth being like the first) are likewise found at fol. 78 of the Visitation of Bucks, 1575-1634. (Harleian MS., British Museum, No. 1538.)

thirteen times, either in glass or stone. Here and there other arms may have been used by individual members of the family—as for example: on one occasion by Sir Anthony Lee, already referred to, who reverted to the old Cheshire arms, and also by the widow of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., buried in the north transept of St. Mary's, Aylesbury, who bore the grant specially made to Sir Robert Lee in 1513, but the customary arms were those here represented.

Richard Lee,* married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of William Saunders or Sanders, Esq., of the co. Oxon. Arms of Saunders, Ar. a lion rampant azure within a bordure of the second, charged with fleurs de lys or. The Pedigree of Cope of Hampshire gives the arms “charged with eight estoiles or” in the Visitations of 1531 and 1575. Stephen Coape or Cope, of Bedenham, in co. Southampton, married another of the co-heiresses of William Saunders, and the arms of Cope impaling Saunders are given by Nicholas Charles, Lansdowne MSS. No. 874, British Museum, as amongst “these four eschocons (which) stand in the north



ARMS OF SAUNDERS,
CO. OXON.

and south windowes of the chauncell” of St. Peter's Quarrendon. The above Richard Lee had issue, by Elizabeth, his wife:—

ROBERT LEE, of Quarrendon, Burston, and Hardwicke, co. Bucks, gentleman, sheriff of Bucks in 1521 and 1533, afterwards knighted.† He was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King Henry VIII. A special grant of arms was made to him by Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, and Thomas Benolt, Clarenceaux, dated London, April 18th, 1513, 4th

* This William Saunders probably had another wife, as his son Sir Robert, many years after, in conveying property to his brother Roger, refers to Joane as their mother, and also mentions that she died October 8, 1517.

† Robert Lee, previously styled “generosus,” was knighted in 1526.

of Henry VIII. He is styled "gentilhomme," and the arms are thus described in the grant: "D'argent a une fece d'asur entre trois testes de licorne rasees de sable, sur la fece trois lis d'or. A son tynbre ung laneret dor, ses esles becque et membres de gueules, saississant et repaissant sur une jambe de heron d'asur, assiz sur une torse d'argent et de pourpre, mantelle de gueules double d'argent."* Sir Robert Lee married, first, Mary [some pedigrees say Joane] daughter of ——— Cope, Esq., of the co. Oxon, and by her had issue :—



ARMS OF SIR ROBERT LEE,
OF QUARRENDON.

SIR ANTHONY LEE, Knt. of Burston, co. Bucks, commoner of St. John's College, Oxford, M.P. for Bucks, 1 Edward VI. ob. Nov. 24th, 3rd of Edward VI., buried at Quarrendon. Sir Anthony† married, first, Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wyatt or Wiat, and sister of Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Allington Castle, co. Kent. [Arms of Wyatt, Per fesse azure and gules, a barnacle argent.] And secondly, Mrs. Anne Cassall, or Hassall, of the co. Chester.

The post-mortem inquisition of Sir Anthony was taken at Aylesbury on September 25th, in the 3rd and 4th of Edward VI.

The following inscription existing at St. Peter's, Quarrendon, in 1611, transcribed verbatim from "Nicholas Charles' Visitation," has not, we believe, been printed :—

"Anthony Lee knight of worthy name,
Sire to S^r Henry Lee of noble fame,
Sonne to S^r Robert Lee, here buried lyes,
Whereas his fame and memory never dyes.

* This grant of arms is in the possession of the writer of this paper, having belonged to the Yorkshire Lees, of whom his great-grandfather was the direct representative.

† The arms of Sir Anthony Lee impaling those of Wyatt, may be found tricked at fol. 104, Heraldic Collections of Nicholas Charles, Lansd. MS. 874, British Museum. The old arms of Lee of Cheshire appear in the 1st and 4th quarters, and those granted to his father, Sir Robert Lee, in the 2nd and 3rd quarters.

Great in the fortune whence himself did run,
 But greater in y^e greatnesse of his sonne ;
 His body here, his soul in heaven doth rest,
 What scordn the earth cannot with earth be prest."

In Charles' MS. the arms of Lee (eight quarterings) appear to the left, and those of Lee impaling Wyatt to the right. Vide also Harleian MSS. No. 1533, A.D. 1575—1634, fol. 78.

He had issue by his first wife—*

1. Sir Henry Lee, K.G.
2. Thomas Lee.
3. Robert Lee.
4. Cromwell Lee.
5. Joice Lee.
6. Lettice Lee.
7. Jane Lee.
8. Catharine Lee.

He had issue by his second wife, Ann Hassell, whom he married only a year before his death—

Richard (knighted), who probably married Lady Croker, of Hook Norton.

1. SIR HENRY LEE, Lord of Fleet Marston and Quarrendon, was born at Allington Castle, co. Kent, in 1531; married Anne, daughter of William, Lord Paget; represented Bucks in Parliament in 1557-58, and in 1571-72; died at Spelsbury, co. Oxon, in 1610, s. p. v.,† and was buried at Quarrendon. Sir Henry's epitaph, as it appeared in Quarrendon Chapel, is given at pp. 114—116 of Mr. Jordan's "Parochial History of Enstone," 4to. 1857; and again at p. 133 of the "Addenda to the

* In the Pedigree of the Lees in Lipscombe's "Bucks," it is stated that Sir Anthony Lee married, secondly, Anne, daughter and heiress of —— Hassell of ——, co. Chester, and had issue Jane or Elizabeth, but no authority is given for the statement. The MSS. in Caius Coll. Library, Cambridge, which *appear* to be referred to, contain no evidence of the fact. On the other hand, the Pedigree of the family of Lee, belonging to the Thorntons of Brockhall, co. Northampton (c) contains the following:—

—, daughter of Sr=Sir Anthony Lee of	=Anne, daughter of
Thomas Wyat, Knt. Burston, K. married	— Hassall, seconde
first wife. two wyves.	wyfe.

Sir Richard Lee, Knt. married the La.
 Halls, and died without issue.

† The names of his children were John, Henry, and Mary.

Ædes Hartwellianæ," 4to. 1865. The fifth plate in this interesting volume contains engravings of certain monumental relics of the Quarrendon Lees in the Hartwell Museum, and a copy of Sir Henry Lee's arms as set forth in his garter-plate, still existing at St. George's, Windsor—restored by Sir C. G. Young, Garter. Sir Henry Lee's lady is buried in the north transept of St. Mary's, Aylesbury, co. Bucks. On this tomb the arms (the same as those of the grant to Robert Lee, possessed by the writer of this paper) stand as follows: Argent, on a fesse azure three lilies or, between three unicorns' heads erased sable, impaling, Quarterly, first and fourth Sable, on a cross engrailed arg. five lions passant of the first between four eagles displayed or; second and third Argent, two bars gules; in a dexter canton gules a cinquefoil or, in sinister chief a crescent: below on the dexter side the arms of the dexter impalement, and on the sinister those of the sinister impalement in a lozenge, for Lee of Quarrendon and Paget.* Sir Henry Lee was Master of the Ordnance to Queen Elizabeth, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. His garter-plate still remains in his stall at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, whereon his arms are, Quarterly of seven (four in chief and three in base):

1. Argent, a fess between three crescents sable, *Lee*.
2. Argent, a fess between three unicorns' heads erased sable, *Lee co. Bucks*.
3. Gules, a lion rampant argent, *Lee co. Chester*.
4. Argent, a fess between three leopards' heads, sable, *Wood co. Warwick*.
5. Azure, an escocheon ermine, within an orle of eight estoiles or.
6. Vert, two wolves courant or.
7. Argent, a lion rampant within a bordure azure, charged with eight fleurs-de-lis or. Crest out of a marquess's coronet, a column argent, upon the capital a bird's leg erased at the thigh, a cormorant preying thereon or. Supporters, On either side a lion sable,

* Having tricked the arms described above, Nicholas Charles writes: "On a sayre monument of Sir Henry Lee's wife, daughter of the Lord Pagett, w^{ch} woman died A^c Dⁿⁱ 1584, having issue, by Sir Henry Lee aforesaid, John Lee, Henry, and Mary." Fol. 70, MS. Lansdowne 874.

having a collar or charged with three crescents of the first. Motto (above the crest) FIDE ET CONSTANCIA, with the following inscription below :—

DV . TRESHONORABLE . CH'LR . HENRY
LEA . CH'LR . DV . TRESNOBLE . ORDRE
DE . LA . IARRETIERE . LE . XXIII
DE . MAY . L'AN . 1597.

Not long after Sir Henry resigned his office as special champion of the beauty of Queen Elizabeth, he fell in love with her new maid of honour, Anne Vavasour, of an ancient and distinguished Yorkshire family, mentioned in a letter from Sir John Stanhope to Lord Talbot in November, 1590, as a brilliant star at court,—“ Our new mayd Mrs. Vavasoure florishethe like the lyly and the rose.” “ Though in the morning flower of her charms,” writes Miss Strickland, “ and esteemed the loveliest girl in the whole court, she drove a whole bevy of youthful lovers to despair by accepting this ancient relic of the age of chivalry.” Tradition reports that Miss Vavasour became Sir Henry’s mistress; hence the rhyming couplet :—

“ Here lyes the old kn^t good Sr Harry,
By her he lov’d, but ne’er would marry,” etc.

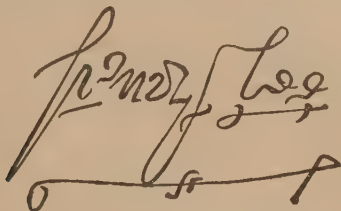
It is also believed that after the erection of a monument to Sir Henry Lee and his mistress, in the chancel of Quarrendon church, the bishop of the diocese ordered it to be removed.* Two fragments of the figures, in alabaster, existed at Quarrendon so late as the year 1863, when that place was visited by the writer of this article. Nicholas Charles’s MS. gives the following inscription as having been placed on the tomb :—

“ Under thys stone intombed lyes a faire and worthy dame,
Daughter to Henry Vavasor, Anne Vavasour her name.
She living with Sr Henry Lee for love long tyme did dwell :
Death could not part them but that here they reste within one cell.”

Nicholas Charles gives the arms of Vavasour, on a lozenge, [Or,] a fesse dancetté [sa.] with a crescent for

* “ This tombe is since erased and pulled downe. 1612.” Nicholas Charles in MS. Lansdowne 876, p. 72.

difference; crest, on a wreath or and sable, a cock gules, as existing in Quarrendon church at his visit in 1611. Sir Henry's will, in his own handwriting, remains at Dytchley, with his signature and seal. The following autograph of this distinguished knight is taken from a deed in the writer's possession:—



2. Thomas, of whom we know nothing.

3. Robert Lee married Jane Restwold. Pedigree C states that Robert Lee married Jane, widow of Sir Francis Hastings, daughter of Edward Restwold. [Arms of Restwold, of Aston Clinton, co. Bucks, Gyronny of four, erm. and gu.] They had issue, according to Pedigree A, Barbara Lee, who married Richard Rogers, and had no issue; according to Pedigree C, Barbara Lee married Edward Raynsforde, of Great Tewe, Oxon, by whom she had a son, Henry Lee Raynsforde, supposed heir to his uncle. But, as we shall see, the property was left to his second cousin and namesake.

4. Cromwell Lee, Esq., of Holywell, Oxford, and of St. John's College, to which he was a very considerable benefactor, married Mary, the daughter of Sir John Harcourt, and relict of Richard Taverner, Esq. [Arms of Harcourt, Gules, two bars or.] Cromwell Lee died A.D. 1601. His only son, John, is thus referred to at p. 802 of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Ed. Oxon.: "June 1.—Doctor of Divinity, John Lea, of St. John's College, and of the gentile family of the Leas or Lees of Quarrendon, in Bucks, and of Ditchley, in Oxfordshire; was chaplain to the most noble knight, Sir Henry Lea; was beneficed in the said counties, and, dying about 1609,* was buried in St. John's Coll. Chappel, to the adorning of which he

* This date must be incorrect, as he proceeded to his degree of S.T.B. in 1610, and possibly was not created S.T.P. or D.D. *per saltum*.

was an especial benefactor. He gave also many books to that Coll. Library." The Rev. J. B. Gray, M.A., Fellow of St. John's, adds the following in a note to the author of this paper:—"John Lee proceeded A.M. 1591, S.T.B. 1610. He was chaplain to Sir Henry Lee, and rector of Fleet Marston, and afterwards of Wootton. He died a Fellow, and was buried in the chapel. He gave *sexaginta et decem* pounds for the choir, which, for some reason unexplained, was spent on the ornamentation of the chapel."

Thus far, with regard to the issue of Sir Robert Lee of Quarrendon, by Mary [or Joane] Coape, Cope, or Coope, his first wife.

(*To be continued.*)

CHETWODE PRIORY.

(Further particulars, continued from Vol. I., p. 206, and communicated by the Rev. E. L. SMITH.)

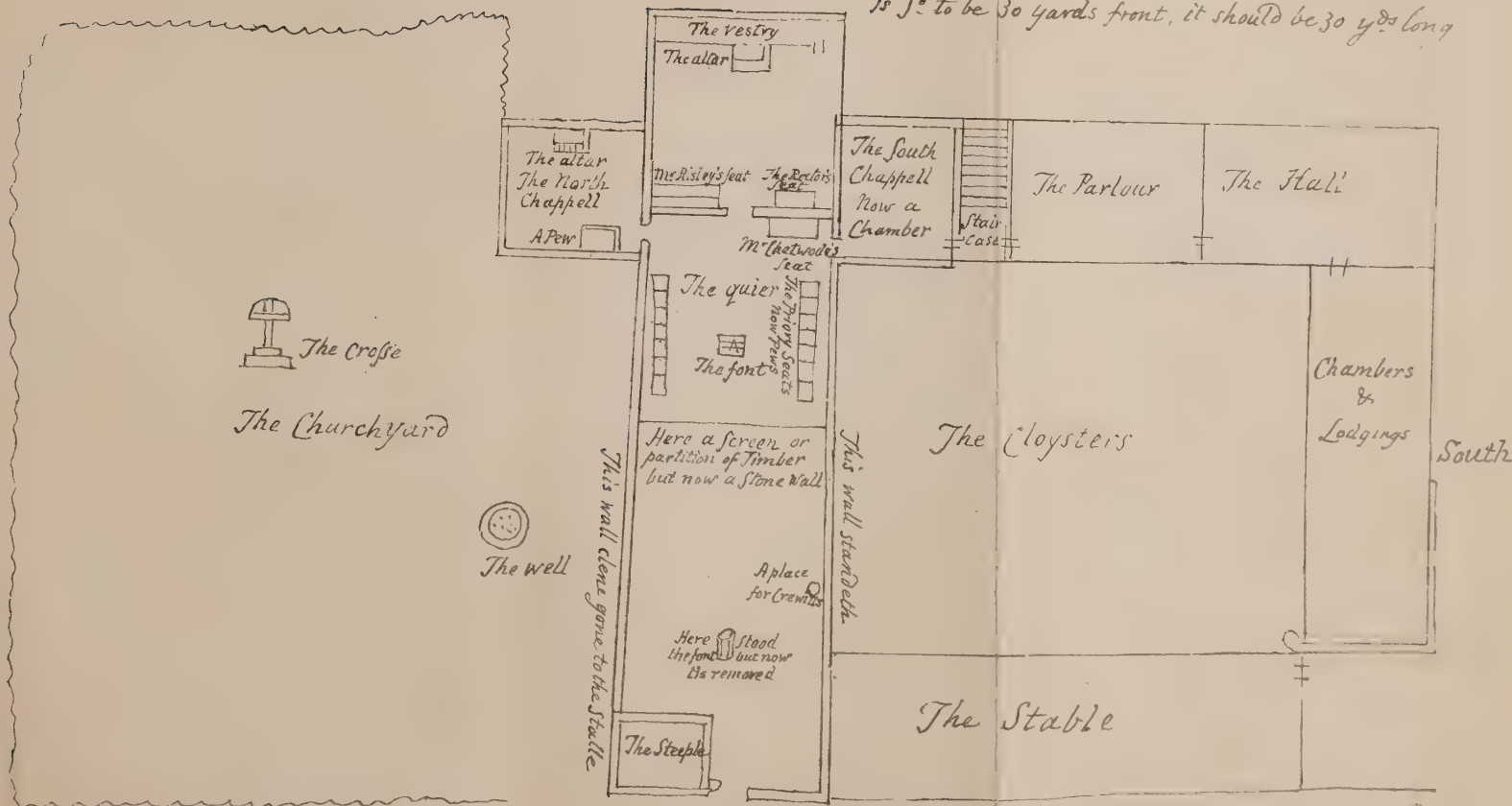
The accompanying plan is taken from Browne Willis's MSS., Vol. xxii., in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The ancient Priory was founded about 1244 by Ralph De Norwich, in honour of St. Mary and St. Nicholas. It was burnt down in the reign of Edward I., and afterwards only partially rebuilt. In 1303, the Rectory of Barton was appropriated to it, and in 1391 the Rectory of Chetwode. The Priory was dissolved on account of poverty in 1460, and annexed to the Abbey of Nutley. In 1480 it was opened for divine worship, on account of the dilapidated state of the parish church, which was finally demolished in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In 1541 the Rectories of Barton and Chetwode passed by deed of gift (or rather by grant after payment, dated June 21, in the 32nd year of Henry VIII.) from Henry VIII. to William Risley, and Alice his wife, and their successors.

All that now remains of the Priory is the "Quire," together with the North Chapel. In or about the year 1822, the North Chapel and the walls of the chancel, except the western end of the south wall, were taken down and rebuilt. The part that was preserved in the south wall contains a very high window, which no doubt overlooked the South Chapel, and was above the entrance to it.

East

This Draught was made in Queen Elizabeth's time
of the Priory Church of Chetwoode which at the Bottom
is s^d to be 30 yards front, it should be 30 yds long



Chetwoode. Scheme
of the Priory taken from
an old one in Queen
Elizabeth's time

Weste Here cometh the Highway

Obituary.

JOHN LEE, ESQ., Q.C., LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., ETC., ETC.

JOHN LEE was born on the 28th of April, 1783. He was the eldest son of John Fiott, Esq., a merchant of London, by Harriett, the second daughter of William Lee, Esq., of Totteridge Park, in the county of Herts. He assumed the name and arms of Lee by royal license, on the 4th of October, 1815, under the direction of the will of William Lee Antonie, Esq., of Colworth House, Bedfordshire, deceased, his maternal uncle. The family of Lee has long flourished in the county of Bucks, having first settled at East Claydon and Moreton about the beginning of the reign of Henry IV. In 1660, Charles II. raised Thomas Lee to the rank of Baronet by the style and title of Sir Thomas Lee, of Hartwell, in the county of Bucks.

The subject of this memoir matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, about 1802, but nothing is known of his early period of his career to distinguish it from the ordinary life of an undergraduate at Cambridge. The few papers which he has left relating to this period of his life, however, prove his persistence and industry; and the fact that he appears fifth on the list of wranglers of his year, is a further and ample proof of his diligence and ability. He took his degree of B.A. in 1806, and in the same year was appointed Travelling Bachelor.

The appointment of "Travelling Bachelor" rendered it necessary that Dr. Lee should select some route as the field of his travels, and at this time this selection was no easy matter. Egypt and the East first presented themselves as objects of his curiosity, and they seemed to promise a rich harvest to a traveller whose researches were to be made immediately under the auspices of an university. But, on the other hand, Dr. Lee saw that an Eastern tour would occupy a longer period than was compatible with his plan of returning to England in two years. Still, if he decided upon an European tour, his difficulties were of no ordinary character, for, independently of the limited range which was then open to the traveller, there was much to excite apprehension for his personal safety. It is true that the successive maritime defeats of the French and Spanish navies had thrown open the seas. Without risk or apprehension of danger, the English fleets now navigated in every part of the globe; troops were transported to the seat of war, our mercantile marine was conveyed in safety. Yet nearly the whole of Europe was hostile, though it did not dare to take the seas, and Napoleon had turned his attention from maritime conquest and invasion and concentrated his power upon the land. The total conquest of the Continent of Europe seemed to loom in the distance, and with such a prospect before him, Dr. Lee had little range wherein to choose the object of his researches, so that necessity rather than a free exercise of his own inclination directed his views to the North of Europe.

Dr. Lee embarked for Denmark, and reached Gotheborg (Gothenburg) which he describes as resembling a Dutch town, especially the lower division, which is built upon a marshy plain, while the upper division of the town lies on the adjacent heights. The streets are generally good, and the houses are well built and substantial. At this place our traveller's attention was principally directed to the ship-building which at this time greatly flourished at Gotheborg; he here sought out and purchased all

books upon that subject which he thought might be useful to his countrymen, and this collection, it is believed, he subsequently transmitted to Cambridge. During his stay at this place, news reached him that the British fleet was lying off Zealand, and as he was desirous of watching its movements, he left Gotheborg, and proceeded to Helsingborg, his route lying along the coast by the cities of Warberg and Holmsted, towns of small consideration, but well situate on the shores of the Cattegat. After a few hours' journey, he became aware of the distant roar of artillery, in the direction of Copenhagen, but in consequence of bad weather and adverse winds he was unable to reach the British lines before the assault. He arrived, however, within five miles of Copenhagen, and could see distinctly the frightful conflagration which was devastating that city. He describes it as "the most awful sight he had ever beheld."

A part of the expedition had been lying off the Island of Rugen, and a large naval force which had assembled and was then waiting for orders, was promptly added to the expedition, and by the end of July twenty-seven ships of the line, with twenty thousand troops, had set sail from the British shores. This armament had arrived at the Danish coast about two days before Dr. Lee at Helsingborg, and he found the population in great anxiety and consternation.

The expedition exhibited a most formidable armament as it advanced slowly and majestically before the harbour of Copenhagen. The English government were anxious to avoid the necessity of appealing to arms, if the object of the expedition could be attained by negotiation, and to attain this, the fleet had no sooner taken its position than Mr. Jackson, the plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain, landed at Kiel, and announced the object of his mission to Count Barnstorf. The terms of the British Government were peremptory, that the Danish fleet should be deposited in the hands of England in pledge, to be given up at the end of the war; but as these terms were not assented to, and no alternative was left to the discretion of the envoy, the negotiation was broken off, and both parties prepared for extremities.

The troops immediately commenced disembarkation, and by the 19th the whole force was landed upon Danish shores. Being utterly unprepared to meet such a formidable array, it soon became apparent that the display of opposition by the Danes was more pretentious than real; there was no preparation in Zealand, and the ramparts were unarmed, the Danish fleet utterly unprepared either with armament or men; and such had been the vigilance of the British cruisers, that all efforts now in that direction would necessarily prove useless. Some time being occupied in landing the heavy ordnance and siege equipage, the place was summoned upon the same terms as had been previously rejected, and being again refused, the bombardment commenced, and continued with slight intermission for three days and as many nights. In the meanwhile, Dr. Lee was making fruitless efforts to reach the British lines, and not having very accurately anticipated the difficulties of his position as a stranger in a besieged country, he found his provisions beginning to fail; indeed, his preparations, originally scanty, now consisted of only a small bundle containing two loaves, two bottles of wine, one clean shirt, and a great coat, and he began to view with anxiety the difficulties of his position, and to meditate upon the means of escaping the peril which at one time seemed imminent. Fortune, however, favoured him in his extremity, and the accidental meeting of two Cambridge friends, one a graduate of St. John's, the other a fellow of Trinity, removed all the anxiety which he had begun to entertain of his prospects of starvation, and, indeed, in other respects this fortuitous meeting served to reassure him under circumstances

which at one period had looked sufficiently gloomy, if not positively desperate. The meeting was most opportune; for the newly arrived travellers were profusely provided with provisions, and their generosity was as ample as their abundance, while, being well informed and agreeable companions, the event was most propitious, and proved ultimately of considerable advantage. Meantime, the Danes defended themselves with great vigour, the inhabitants working night and day in transporting water to the points in the city which had taken fire, but their patriotism availed little against the superior force of their assailants, and the fire spread through the city with fearful rapidity, reaching the steeple of the Church of our Lady. Dr. Lee was still some distance from the city, and anxiously watched the progress of the flames with intense curiosity. At length the total destruction of the city seemed imminent, and the Danes, on the 5th of September, sent out a flag of truce. By the terms of the capitulation the British troops were to evacuate Copenhagen in six weeks—or sooner, if it were possible. So expeditiously were the terms of the capitulation carried out, that early in October, the troops had re-embarked, and the British fleet was again on its course towards a British harbour, bringing with them, according to the terms of the capitulation, the whole Danish fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, twenty-five gun-boats, independently of the several ships which had been destroyed during the siege.

On the cessation of hostilities, Dr. Lee visited Copenhagen, which had been seriously injured by the late bombardment. Indeed, the untoward series of events of which he had been witness had so disorganized the social condition of Copenhagen, that Dr. Lee seems to have secured few opportunities of working out the principal objects of his visit. The population he sets down as consisting of about 100,000 inhabitants, and describes the climate as damp, disagreeable, and unhealthy. He had hoped to have gathered some information concerning the Danish Royal Society, which had long sustained a high character on account of the value of its researches in mathematical and physical science, as well as of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, whose labours in diffusing a knowledge of Northern and Icelandic literature and archæology have acquired deservedly an European admiration. He was, however unsuccessful, being unable to collect any information which was not already easily accessible. But true to his instincts—and no man ever worshipped at the shrine of science with more ardent aspirations—he determined not to leave the neighbourhood of a place rendered illustrious by the residence of Tycho Brahe, without a visit to the Island of Hoen, which had been bestowed upon Tycho Brahe for life by Frederick II., and upon which the illustrious astronomer erected an observatory and laboratory. This undertaking was commenced on the 8th of August, 1576, and finished in 1580, and it was here that Tycho had the honour of receiving and entertaining James VI. of Scotland, afterwards our James I., in 1590, on his visit to Denmark to marry the Princess Anne. Uranienborg, as Tycho Brahe designated his place of retirement, was not enjoyed by him after the death of Frederick; for being deprived of the pension which Frederick had munificently bestowed upon him, as also his Canonry of Roschild by the jealousy of the nobles, who could not bear the sight of one of their equals surrounded by such consideration as had been bestowed upon their illustrious countryman, Tycho was no longer capable of bearing the expense of his observatory, and he accordingly relinquished it, and proceeded to Copenhagen, where he continued his astronomical observations.

Dr. Lee now proceeded to the Island of Hoen, but found little calculated to preserve the memory of the illustrious philosopher. His obser-

vatory had disappeared, and the curious stranger was now shown only the spot where it had once stood, together with some ill-defined traces of its grounds and gardens. The castle, which was seventy-five feet high, had contained apartments for students, a printing-press, a laboratory, and many apartments adorned with paintings. It is said that independently of the large sums contributed to this work by the munificence of Frederick, that Tycho himself spent upon it upwards of 100,000 crowns out of his private resources. A little to the south of the observatory was planted a flagstaff and flag, upon which was inscribed "Stelleborg"—this was used for observations during the day. Sheep now peaceably fed upon all that remained of the once celebrated Castle of Uranienborg. A short distance from the ruins, in the midst of a field, was shown a subterranean vault, said to have formerly belonged to the castle, and this ruin was used by Picard when sent by the Academy of Sciences of Paris to lay down the longitude and latitude of Uranienborg. Dr. Lee rested a few days at Lund, busily engaged in collecting such information as elucidated the object of his mission. He describes the town of Lund as being about twenty-four miles east of Copenhagen, having now little to distinguish it beyond its antiquity and University, the latter having been founded by Christian I. of Denmark at the latter part of the fifteenth century. Here he found a good library, containing upwards of 60,000 volumes of printed books and about 2000 MSS. There were also collections of coins, antiquities, etc. The population of Lund was inconsiderable, but the town is said to have formerly possessed 80,000 inhabitants. From Lund he proceeded, by way of Christianstad, to Carlsrona, where he minutely examined the various objects of interest in the place, and especially the naval docks, excavated out of the solid rocks. He now visited Calmar, and proceeding through the province of Smaland; he halted at Jonkoping, and from thence proceeded to Wadstrena and Stockholm; thence directing his route towards the north, he visited the University of Upsala. In January, 1808, Dr. Lee set out from Stockholm for Gotheborg, and from thence returned to England, reaching Harwich Roads on the 15th of February in the same year.

Although the stay of Dr. Lee in Copenhagen had been limited, he seems to have been successful in securing a considerable amount of information from various sources. The University was the first object of his inquiries and investigation. The endowments of the University were abundant, its income amounting to something like 3,000,000 of rix dollars. There were seven professors of theology, two of civil law, two of mathematics, one of Latin and rhetoric, one of Greek, one of Oriental languages, one of history, five of medicine, one of agriculture, etc. The University possesses a library of about 60,000 volumes. Dr. Lee was not greatly enamoured of the character of the Danes as a nation. He represents them as rather solid than elegant, and more remarkable for silence, phlegm, and reticence, than more agreeable qualities. The Dane forms a respectable member of society, so far as the higher moral duties are concerned, but he totally fails in the lighter accomplishments and amenities which contribute so much to make up the sum of human happiness. The Dane sacrifices little to the suavities of civilized life—usefulness is his idol, *cui bono* his creed, and he seems seldom to appreciate any excellence that does not fall within the range of the useful or profitable. He is never alert, elastic, or light-hearted; his spirits seem perpetually at zero. He is essentially slow, and requires time and patience in all his undertakings. His ancestors may have delighted in poetry, but the modern Dane prefers more useful appliances of genius, and is always ready to set aside poetry for arithmetic.

On the 4th of April, 1808, Dr. Lee was elected Fellow of St. John's College, and in the following May he proceeded to Sweden, arriving at

Stockholm on the 21st of the same month. He left Stockholm on the 5th July, and arrived at Upsala the same evening. At this place he made the acquaintance of some of the most distinguished professors of the University, and received from them the highest consideration and hospitality. Indeed, so well pleased was he with the treatment which he had experienced in this country, that he delayed his return to England on that account until the following year, when he left Sweden, and arrived at Yarmouth in June, 1809, and on the 12th of the same month he took his Master's degree.

Ever displaying much interest and curiosity in military affairs, Dr. Lee availed himself of an opportunity which presented itself of joining the Walcheren expedition, the occasion being favoured by an invitation from his brother Lieut. Piott, R.N., at this time engaged in active service in this untoward affair. Dr. Lee, however, returned to the University on the 19th of the following September, and on the 15th of March, 1810, embarked on board His Majesty's Ship "Woolwich," at Spithead, under the convoy of Captain Whitby, commanding His Majesty's Ship "Cerberus," his object being now to make a long stay on the shores of the Mediterranean, and travel in the East. He proceeded to Gibraltar, Malta, Smyrna, and Constantinople, spending some time in each of these places. In the following January (1811) we find him at Athens, from which place he made occasional tours in the neighbourhood; and in the following April he proceeded to Hydra, and from thence to Candia, from which latter place he proceeded to Alexandria, where he arrived on the 20th day of May. He now set himself steadily to work in examining the antiquities of Egypt, a subject then new to him, but which excited so much interest in him as to leave a lasting impression upon his mind to the latest day of his life. Those who had the good fortune to enjoy the friendship of Dr. Lee, and have admired the rich products of his researches in Egypt and Palestine, since preserved in his museum at Hartwell, can easily imagine how he threw the whole weight of his zeal and energy into these researches.

On the second day after his arrival at Alexandria, he was presented to Mehemet Ali Pasha, with whom he seems to have been greatly pleased, though somewhat scandalized on observing the free-and-easy habits of this illustrious personage when not strained upon the tenter-hooks of Eastern ceremonial. When Dr. Lee first saw him, he appeared in a large room in Alexandria, dressed in a full and magnificent uniform, and surrounded by a brilliant staff of officers. Ali Pasha being at this time about to proceed to Cairo, Dr. Lee availed himself of the opportunity of joining his suite, upon the invitation of Mehemet Ali himself, most courteously conveyed to him. At Rosetta, Ali Pasha put off the signs of grandeur which had surrounded him at Alexandria, and here he might be seen sitting cross-legged in the midst of his companions, in careless *deshabille*, wearing no stockings, his fingers being inserted between his toes. In this guise he talked in the most familiar manner with the Consul and Signor Boghosyousouf upon divers and such commercial topics as either afforded him amusement, or in which he was commercially interested. The subject which particularly engaged his attention at this time was the sale of some wheat. When Dr. Lee joined the party, pipes, coffee, and sherbet were introduced. All appearance of ceremony was banished from the group, and Mehemet Ali entered into familiar conversation with Dr. Lee, asserting that he knew full well why English travellers journeyed into his country. He said that he was well assured that such travellers were neither merchants, soldiers, nor sailors; but that they came with their books of necromancy, from which they had learned where the former people of his country had concealed their treasure. Dr. Lee emphatically assured him that he was quite mis-

taken, and that our books were utterly silent concerning treasures, being merely books of science or amusement, and intended only to instruct or amuse; and he added, that English travellers visited Egypt with no other motive than the desire of acquiring learning and to obtain experience in the world. "Indeed," said Dr. Lee, "such travels, far from being attended with any pecuniary profit, were generally very costly." Mehemet laughed, and dismissed the topic by saying, that for his part he had been brought up a soldier, and had never learned to read or write. He then glided into a great variety of topics, which he treated with much skill and familiarity, and great good-humour.

The following day the party set out early on their journey, on board a large boat richly gilt and ornamented. It was in all respects adapted to the exigencies of travellers in this climate, containing every convenience to insure comfort and diminish fatigue. This boat had been appropriated exclusively by the suite of Mehemet Ali, he himself being in another boat containing his staff.

Having made fast for the night along shore, the travellers continued their journey on the following morning, and proceeded up the Nile, on the banks of which were seen, from time to time, many small but picturesque towns and villages. In the course of their second day's journey, the boat grounded, and a scene ensued which an artist only could graphically and faithfully record; no words could describe the scene of confusion, no language convey any picture of the screaming, shouting, hallooing, and singing which accompanied this catastrophe. At last, however, after much exertion and vociferation, the boat was got off, and the travellers passed another night much after the fashion of the last.

On the third day the party, by dint of hard rowing, contrived to reach Boulak by night, where Dr. Lee remained for two days, residing in the Spanish convent, where rooms had been previously prepared for him and his servant. At this place he had another audience with Ali Pasha, but on this occasion the reception was one of pure ceremony; Mehemet Ali Pasha having now put off his familiarity on putting on his fine clothes. Here Dr. Lee found the story of the recent massacre of the Mamelukes a topic of universal interest and conversation, for it was at this place that Mehemet Ali had enticed the Mamelukes into his snare under the pretence of negotiating terms of peace with them. Unsuspicious of his deceitful and murderous design, they accepted his invitation, and he, on his part, in order to conceal the real character of his intentions, affected to treat them with great consideration and kindness. The scheme of the wily hypocrite proved successful, the Mamelukes on retiring from his presence were delighted with his urbanity, and deceived by his affected hospitality, so that they were utterly and helplessly thrown off their guard. On reaching the open court, the soldiers of Ali, Pasha, concealed behind the walls of the building, opened a deadly fire upon the retreating Mamelukes; and so accurately directed were the deadly weapons of the soldiery, that all were killed save one, who with the greatest difficulty reached his horse and escaped. In an interview which Dr. Lee afterwards had at Jerusalem with this Mameluke, the accuracy of this report was fully confirmed.

On the 7th of May Dr. Lee proceeded towards the Pyramids of Ghizah, which he reached on the same evening. Here he remained for some time, incessantly and laboriously engaged in the pursuit of his antiquarian inquiries. He made also many excursions into the neighbourhood, Cairo being his point of *rendezvous*. Here he was, however, unfortunately attacked by a virulent and dangerous fever, which for a time damped his zeal for antiquarian researches. The impaired condition of his health forced him to relinquish his present pursuit, and he resolved to seek a cooler

climate, and therefore gave up with reluctance his original intention of proceeding into Upper Egypt, or in fact of returning to Alexandria.

Being sufficiently restored in health to undertake the fatigue of a new journey, he determined to proceed to Syria. He accordingly descended the eastern branch of the Nile, visiting the ancient Busiris (*Bovortis*, the modern *Busyr* or *Abousir*), on the western bank of the Nile. The ruins of the temple of Isis are still visible a little to the north of Abousir, but the place contains nothing of any interest beyond these antiquarian relics. Here he noted colossal stones, which had once constituted one of the most magnificent specimens of human skill and labour, but they now lie in utter confusion, forming gigantic but shapeless masses. Not a column remained standing; broken shafts and dislocated capitals had been heaped in every direction. There was, however, reason to believe that what was visible formed but a small portion of the actual ruins, for there was ample evidence to prove that much of what formerly constituted the ancient town now lies buried beneath the accumulated soil and rubbish of ages, and far beyond the reach of modern research; and it was not possible with the means at his disposal, or even without a considerable outlay in the purchase of labour, to examine the ruins with any profitable result. From this place Dr. Lee proceeded to Damietta, where he was hospitably received and kindly treated by the English Consul. Though he had originally intended to spend some time at Damietta, circumstances transpired which induced him to modify his plan, and, in some respect, to change the route he had formerly intended, and he therefore proceeded to Jaffa.

Arriving at Jaffa, he became aware of the existence of political circumstances which rendered it imprudent to remain there, and he was again necessitated to change or modify his plans. Leaving Jaffa the same evening he travelled through an interesting country to Ramah (Josh. xviii. 25; Judges ii. 5), having provided himself with letters of introduction from the Consul of Jaffa to the principal of the convent; he arrived at the convent in the evening after dark, and consequently after the convent had been closed, but the Consul's letter obtained him a ready admission. His stay here was, however, very short, for, receiving intelligence that a few persons were about to make up a party for the purpose of visiting Jerusalem, he immediately took measures to join it, and started for the Holy City early on the following morning. After a journey of a few hours he caught a distant view of the hills of Jerusalem, but, approaching nearer, much of the grandeur of his original impression of the city was dissipated. When seen from a distant point of view, Jerusalem appears an imposing object and a well-fortified city, but this impression is rapidly removed by a nearer approach. Our traveller now descended through some winding passages, and it was dark before they entered the city, when they were struck with the extraordinary scene of ruin and wretchedness displayed around them.

Dr. Lee at once proceeded to the Latin convent, to the principal of which he was a bearer of a letter of introduction. He entered the convent, and was taken to a room devoted to travellers, and here enjoyed some uninterrupted repose, a luxury which he had failed to secure for many days. He found the monks attentive and courteous, and they freely communicated to him any information which it was in their power to afford. The first object of his investigation was naturally the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in which, according to ancient tradition, the body of the Redeemer was deposited by Nicodemus after he had taken it down from the cross. It stands north of the centre of the church, and is enclosed by a small oblong quadrilateral building of marble, surmounted by a cupola standing upon pillars.

The Holy Sepulchre is a sarcophagus of white marble, totally devoid of ornament, and slightly tinged with blue. It is only roughly polished

and appears as though, at some distant time, it had been exposed to the wasting influence of the elements. Suspended over it are twelve massive silver lamps, which are kept continually burning. The sarcophagus does not occupy more than one half of the sepulchral chamber, and a space of about three feet wide is reserved for the reception of visitors. Over the sarcophagus is a large painting representing Christ bursting the bonds of the tomb, and his ascent from the grave on the day of the resurrection. The party were only admitted into the Holy Sepulchre after the payment of certain fees, when they were shown the position of the cross, and the fissure in the rock caused by the earthquake at the time of the crucifixion, "when the veil of the temple was rent in twain."

Dr. Lee proceeded to the chapel of St. Helena, where was exhibited the spot whence the holy fire is said to descend at Easter.

Dr. Lee now proceeded to Bethlehem, visiting the Convent of St. Giovanni, which was distributed among the Greek, Roman, and Armenian Christians, to each of whom were assigned separate portions, as well for personal accommodation as for the purposes of divine worship. This convent was entered through a door strongly cased in iron, and so low as to render it impossible to enter except in a stooping position. Dr. Lee describes Bethlehem as a poor village with few inhabitants, the majority of them, however, being Christians. Whilst here he had determined to visit the pools of Solomon, but at this time found it impossible to proceed to Hebron. Having determined upon another route, he procured two Arab guides to accompany him to the shores of the Dead Sea, and from thence to Jericho. The necessary arrangements having been completed, the party started at night—not daring to show themselves by daylight—and stealthily wound their way over the most rugged paths, through a mountainous country. At daybreak they emerged from the mountains, and saw before them the Dead Sea in the distance. On approaching it, they tasted its water, and found it acrid and bitter; the land which surrounds the sea also partakes of these qualities, being impregnated with its bitter saltiness, and producing no vegetable life, except a few stunted thorns. The party now advanced leisurely along the edge of the lake, until they reached the point where the river Jordan falls into the sea. From thence the shores on the western coast appeared rugged and precipitous, and on the other side were seen the mountains of Moab, which are higher than those on the Judean side, and form a prominent feature in the distance. The shore on the northern extremity is flat, and strewed with large quantities of drift-wood, brought down by the swelling of the waters of the Jordan. Dr. Lee was much impressed by the desolate and death-like appearance of this extraordinary lake. A profound silence reigned on all sides, it was a stillness truly emblematical of the Valley of the Shadow of Death—the silence was the silence of the tomb. The shores of the Dead Sea were then rarely visited by any footstep, save that of the wild Arab, and its desolate and awful features were in strict keeping with the traditions of the neighbourhood, where the inhabitants hold it in superstitious terror.

On approaching the Jordan, Dr. Lee was disappointed, for he had pictured, in his imagination, an ample river, whereas the traveller approaches within eight or ten yards of the stream before it becomes visible, and then he sees a mere brook, fringed with plants and shrubs. The party now rode along the western bank for several miles, until they approached the fords of Jordan where the pilgrims usually bathe, and here the party rested for a short time. It is to this spot that the pilgrims direct their footsteps from the Holy City, under the protection of the Governor of Jerusalem. The journey and ceremony of the bath occupy the greater part of three days, and here they fill their flasks with the holy water, and return to Jerusalem.

Dr. Lee now directed his steps towards the "City of Palm Trees," (Deut. xxxiv. 3), across the plain, arriving at Jericho in the evening. Though formerly so important, and still so interesting, on account of its historical and religious associations, he found now only a miserable village, containing a few ruined cottages inhabited by Arabs. At this point the travellers again turned their faces towards Jerusalem, keeping to the usual route used by pilgrims—a route, however, not altogether easy nor unattended with danger, and the natural associations of the place, and character of its scenery, did not tend to reassure the traveller, nor mitigate his apprehensions of a surprise. Such is the prevailing silence in these gloomy and death-like regions, that the traveller starts at the sound of the tramp of his own horse, as its echo rebounds along the caverned rocks. Dr. Lee returned to Jerusalem on the 20th September, 1811.

On the following day he proceeded from the convent, which he had made his residence while in Jerusalem, to ascend the Mount of Olives, travelling along the Via Dolorosa and by the Gate of St. Stephen, which derives its name from the tradition that St. Stephen was dragged through it to the spot where he was stoned to death. Another historical association is connected with this gate, which gives it an additional interest in the eyes of the Christian, namely, that it was through this gate that the brave and warlike Godfrey de Bouillon entered into Jerusalem with the host of Christian besiegers—

"Entra allor vincitore il campo tutto
Per le mura non sol, ma per le porte;
Ch'è già aperto, abbattuto, arso e distrutto
Ciò che lor s'opponea rinchinso e forte.
Spazia l'ira del ferro; e va col Lutto
Ecoll' Orror, compagni suoi, la morte.
Ristagna il sangue in gorgi, e corre in rivi,
Pieni di corpi estinti e di mal vivi."

("Gerusalemme liberata," canto xviii. 105.)

Here he saw the pool which, according to ancient tradition, corresponds with the Pool of Bethesda. He now proceeded along the Wall of Jerusalem, and passed the Golden Gate on the eastern side of the city. It has long been walled-up, and the Turks have a traditional prophecy that the Christians will one day pass through it into Jerusalem. There is also an ancient tradition that Jesus Christ made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem through this gate. He now crossed into the valley, which lies between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives, over which Jesus "went forth with his disciples" to the Garden of Gethsemane. The Brook Kedron winds around rugged and desolate hills through a wilderness, until it reaches the Dead Sea; its supply of water is very precarious, as after storms of rain it becomes turbid, and rushes with the force of a torrent; while at other times, during the dry season, its channel is frequently without water. Here, in ascending, amongst the Olives in the distance, was seen Mount Moriah, a mountain of rocky limestone, steep on every side except the north. Between Jerusalem and the Valley of Kedron he passed the village of Siloam, which, whatever may have been its former character, now consisted of a few miserable huts, some being mere excavations in the solid rock. On the other side of the valley was seen the fountain of Siloam. The edifice known as the tomb of Absalom ought not to be forgotten, as it forms a prominent object in the landscape; but it has been so frequently described by various travellers, that it is unnecessary to refer to it here more particularly.

From the Mount of Olives the traveller enjoyed the best view of Jeru-

saalem and the three hills on which it stood. Below, and separated only by the deep and narrow ravine of Jehoshaphat, was seen Mount Moriah, crowned by the Mosque of Omar, and beyond, the domes of the Sanctuary of the Holy Sepulchre and other picturesque buildings rising in succession. Here were pointed out olive trees said to have flourished in the time of our Saviour. From the monument of Absalom Dr. Lee descended to the Brook Kedron, proceeding up the valley to Mount Zion. Mount Zion is one of the mountains on which the southern quarter of ancient Jerusalem was built: and here tradition has placed the tomb of David. Over the tomb is erected a Turkish mosque, evidently of early date, and called the Mosque of the prophet David. It is held in the greatest possible veneration by the Mussulmans. Dr. Lee now proceeded through the streets of the city towards the convent, passing by the Armenian convent and the Gate of David, with its two square towers, along the Bethlehem road.

From the Holy City Dr. Lee proceeded to Nazareth, which is beautifully situate, but has in the course of ages sunk into an inconsiderable village steeped in poverty of the deepest dye; it stands in a vale walled in by mountains, and abounds in fig-trees and hedges of the prickly pear. The houses are small, flat-roofed, and built of stone, and the bazaars are very insignificant, in fact, consisting only of one small square room and a single doorway.

There is a Latin convent on the eastern side of the village, built upon the high ground. It has a church, called the Church of the Annunciation, erected upon the site which tradition marks as the spot where the Angel Gabriel saluted the Virgin Mary with the glad tidings related by the evangelist. Near the convent, tradition has also preserved the memory of the spot said to have been the site of the workshop of Joseph; the chapel now standing upon this spot is, however, a modern structure. Again, a short distance from this chapel, the traveller was shown the synagogue where our Saviour is recorded to have preached, and the precipice which he descended in order to escape the wrath of his hearers. "And all they in the synagogue when they heard these things were filled with wrath, and rose up and thrust Him out of the city, and led Him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast Him down headlong. But He passing through the midst of them went his way."

The route between Jerusalem and Nazareth was, during the first part of the journey, through a rugged country. On the following day the travellers reached Joseph's Tomb in the Valley Shechem, along which they proceeded to Nablous. This is one of the oldest cities in Palestine, being mentioned as cotemporary with Jacob: it is most picturesquely situate in the midst of a deep valley between the mountains of Ebal and Mount Gerizim. Here Dr. Lee was deeply impressed with the sublimity of the picturesque and grand scenery which burst upon his view; the lofty and craggy mountains seem to be suspended in mid-air, and immediately below is a rich valley, where the city reposes, surrounded by green gardens and extensive olive grounds. Here was shown the spot which tradition has given as the last resting-place and tomb of Joseph, and also where the remains of Elcazar the High Priest and of Joshua were deposited. At Shechem Dr. Lee proceeded to the house of the Bey, to whom he was intrusted with letters of introduction, and by whom he was most warmly and hospitably received. Between Shechem and Nazareth the country became rugged and mountainous; and here arriving at a village, of which he has not recorded the name, he rested for the night. From this point he passed on through a fine open country, but it appeared to him deserted. While he resided at Nazareth, he lived at the convent, and received considerable additions to his traditional lore from the loquacity of the monks,

who pointed out the spot where the Virgin Mary had formerly lived, and the gap in the rock which had been left vacant by the transportation of the sacred house to Loretto, whither it was carried through the air by a host of angels.

Dr. Lee remained but a short time at Nazareth, and on the day following his arrival he proceeded on his way to Tiberias and Mount Tabor. The latter is one of the places mentioned in which Jesus was accustomed to retire for meditation and prayer. Mount Tabor is a conical mountain about a mile in height, its summit being flat, fertile, and thickly studded with trees and shrubs. He now ascended, but not without considerable exertion, the side of the mountain, and was well rewarded by a magnificent view towards the south, obtaining a slight glimpse of the distant Sea of Tiberias. He traversed the plain, arriving about the middle of the day at Tiberias, the chief city of Galilee, on the south-west bank of the Sea of Tiberias or Gennesareth, situate in the most beautiful and fruitful portion of the country. It must have been once a place of great consideration and of considerable extent. In its neighbourhood were the hot springs of Emmaus. The modern name of the place is Tabarich, though the modern site does not exactly correspond with that of the ancient city. Widely-scattered ruins, with fragments of columns, indicate its former extent. All, however, is mourning and desolation; what remains tells little or nothing of the sublime magnificence of antiquity. The broken and dismantled pillars and mutilated stones tell a story of ancient greatness and departed glory; the wind rushes through broken masses of stone and dislocated columns, but it sounds only a funereal note. The modern town occupies only a small portion of the site of the ancient city.

The capacious lake known as the Sea of Galilee has been estimated to be from twelve to fifteen miles in length, but Dr. Lee did not think the estimate reliable. He found the water fresh, and in some parts abounding with fish. At this time not a boat was to be seen upon the lake, though fishing is still practised, and indeed the inhabitants derive their principal sustenance from their fisheries.

During the first night of his stay in the city, Dr. Lee slept in the church, and on the following morning made some visits of ceremony to the chief Jews, who appeared generally poor. The place, however, was once famous as a seat of learning, and, after the destruction of Jerusalem, was for several centuries famous for its academy of learned Jews. He visited the baths at the southern extremity of the town, the waters of which were strongly impregnated with chloride of sodium and a considerable amount of sulphur and iron.

Dr. Lee now determined upon a visit to Acre, and after a hasty arrangement, set out for that purpose, travelling through a fine varied country, until he reached a branch of the River Tishon, which he crossed, and then came upon an open and flat country. As he approached Acre, he caught a glimpse of the Mediterranean Sea and the Bay in the distance, which he reached in the evening, when he immediately proceeded to the house of the British Consul. On the following day Dr. Lee paid a visit to the Bey, from whom he received the usual formal civilities, submitting at the same time to the usual impertinent interrogatories. He remained two days only at Acre, and proceeded on his route to Tyre. He now found himself in a most picturesque and interesting country, which, however, only extended for a few miles, becoming afterwards mountainous and rugged. Passing the Cisterns of Tyre, he came at length to the town now called Soor, by the Israelites *Tsor* (Josh. xix. 29, etc., and by the Tyrians, *Sor* or *Sur*, Gr. *ῥυπος*), situate at the extremity of a sandy peninsula, and covering a space of about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth. Around it

are immense ruins of aqueducts and other remains of ancient civilization, but it does not strike the traveller with any impression of ancient magnificence. Its port is choked up with sand and rubbish, so that the queen of ancient commerce has absolutely closed her portals, and she is now scarcely able to admit within her waters a few miserable fishermen. And this is all that remains of a city once the most celebrated of Phœnicia, the theatre of immense commerce and navigation!

“Expende Annibalem; quot libras in duce summo
“Invenies?”

Dr. Lee remained but a short time in Tyre, being anxious to reach Aleppo before the approach of winter. The country beyond Tyre was most lovely, decked with gardens of rare beauty, and surrounded by landscapes such as artists delight to contemplate. He passed through Beyrout to Damascus, which stands on the River Barrady, the golden stream of the ancient geographers, in a lovely and most fertile plain on the east and south-east of Anti-Libanus, open to the south and east, and bounded on the other sides by mountains. The modern town, although it has been frequently spoiled, has more than once recovered its former splendour and dignity, and is justly considered the flower of the Levant. Environed with gardens and orchards, planted in the beautiful and fertile plain of the Barrady, it has been designated, in the florid language of the East, the first of the four terrestrial paradises. Its streets, however, are narrow, and its houses constructed with mud; few of them have wooden floors, and none possess windows. The roofs of the houses are flat like a terrace, and are constructed of plaster. Here was shown the house of Judas, in which Ananias* restored the apostle to sight. It is also said that the head of John the Baptist is deposited here in the church formerly dedicated by the early Christians to St. John the Baptist, but now converted into a mosque, wherein no Christian is permitted to enter. There are other mosques, but in point of magnificence none of them bear comparison with those of Constantinople.

Dr. Lee determined to spend some time in Aleppo, intending to purchase manuscripts and other objects of antiquity; and here he had the good fortune to fall in with the celebrated traveller Burekhardt, by whose valuable experience and co-operation he was enabled to purchase many valuable manuscripts, besides coins and medals, which afterwards formed the foundation of the well-known library and museum of Greek, Roman, and other coins at Hartwell House. It was at this period also that he collected various engraved gems of Egypt, Persia, etc. He spent some time at Tripoli, but his journals at this period have not been found, and it is therefore impossible now to ascertain either his pursuits or wanderings till November, 1811, when we find him at Palmyra, from which place he addressed a letter to the Duke of Northumberland, and transmitted some valuable Greek inscriptions which he had then lately recovered and copied from the ruins of that place. In his letter to the Duke, he states “that the inscriptions of which he had transmitted copies to his Grace, had not been noticed by Mr. Wood; and,” he added, “unless the Oriental traveller, Mr. Vaughan, had copied them during his tour from Syria to Persia, they had probably not made their appearance in Europe.”

He remarked that Palmyra had suffered considerable change since it had been described by Messrs. Dawkins and Wood, and that the depredations of the Arabs, aggravated by earthquakes, had destroyed many of the columns, and that many of the buildings which had been described by those gentle-

* Acts ix. 17.

men were no longer in the condition which had been attributed to them. Notwithstanding the ravages of time, frequent convulsions of nature, and the destructive propensities of barbarians, there were at this time remaining about two hundred and ninety Corinthian columns comparatively perfect, and in their original places. Of these, the greater part had not lost their capitals, and many of them, especially those in the grand colonnade, remained in groups of six, twelve, and twenty, and had not been deprived of their cornices or other architectural ornaments. Beside the grand arch at the end of the colonnade, there were two others still perfect in the line of the columns. Only one of the granite columns was then standing, the other three, with their capitals, had been thrown down and were lying upon the ground. The remains of minor consequence were numberless; and while passing from one point to another, the explorer steps over columns, pedestals, altars, and a countless variety of architectural ornaments, in every degree of disintegration. The whole space inclosed within the walls of the city was filled with a mass of fragments of every possible character, and in every degree of decay; and many still existed which would bear comparison, in point of workmanship and elegance, with the specimens which had been better preserved. The Temple of the Sun had, indeed, seriously suffered during the last half century. The walls of the external square had much perished, and the entrance was in rapid progress of decay. Of the double row of columns which formerly surrounded the square, about sixty still remained, and the door of the peristyle, and nine of its magnificent columns, were still in their normal position, and the shell of the temple also remained perfect.

Dr. Lee arrived at Zante on the 26th of October, 1812, and proceeded to visit the castle supposed to be the Stadium Onex, and made an excursion to the celebrated pitch-wells. He also ascended Mount Scopos, the Mons Elatus of Pliny, about one thousand feet in height, from the summit of which he obtained a fine panoramic view of the island and of the Morea from north to south.

He now proceeded to Cephalonia, and reached Argostoli on the 15th of December, 1812. He visited the bridge or causeway across the harbour, as also the ruins of the ancient *κρανιοι*, Cranii, which lie on a steep acclivity at the head of the port. Here he found little temptation to excavate, and discovered no inscriptions of any value. On the 22nd of December, he left Argostoli with the intention of proceeding to Samos, and on the 23rd he examined the site of the ancient Samos or Same, *Σαμῶς*, *Σαμος*.

On the 27th of December, he opened and examined some small Roman tombs at the foot of the hill; but his labours proved barren, for some enterprising antiquary had anticipated his researches. He, however, remained undaunted, and on some further attempts, his labours were better rewarded, for he recovered a few inscriptions, some terra cotta vases, and silver and gold ornaments. He continued his labours in the same direction on the 29th and 30th of December, but on the latter of these days he received a letter from the authorities, requiring him to discontinue his excavations. There was no alternative but submission, and he, therefore, regretfully paid off his labourers, and relinquished his pursuit. It was a hard trial, and submitted to with reluctance and resignation, but he felt assured that there were no means of resistance, for he became sensible that some powerful influence which he was unable to trace had taken an unfavourable view of his researches, and there, as in all despotic governments, ignorance and superstition constituted the essence of power.

On the 31st of December, Dr. Lee relinquished the present site of his labours, and proceeded with the intention of visiting the northern part of

the island. He accordingly set out, but had not proceeded far on his journey when, ascending a rising ground which seemed to promise a successful excavation, he halted at a vineyard, and sketched two architectural fragments found among some loose ruins, known as the house of *Ulysses*. On the 1st of January, 1813, he made another effort to renew his labours of excavation, but with no better success than he had formerly experienced, for, to his great chagrin, his progress was again arrested by a positive and imperative notice, that his excavations would not be permitted, unless he could procure the express permission of the government. He accordingly despatched a letter to the proper quarter, requesting permission to excavate, and in the meantime addressed his attention to reading several inscriptions which he subsequently published in the thirty-third volume of the "*Archæologia*," pp. 36—54. His solicitation was unsuccessful, and it was with the deepest regret that he now found himself finally compelled to relinquish researches which he had always cherished as the great object of his travels. Notwithstanding this serious and most irritating disappointment, not to mention minor obstacles which had repeatedly arrested his progress in this direction, he still remained hopeful, and, in fact, subsequently secured a rich harvest of antiquities, which he brought to England, and lodged in the museum at Hartwell House. He now returned to Zante, where he had the gratification of being informed, though it was too late to be of any service to himself, that orders had been despatched to Ithaca securing to future travellers the liberty of excavation, subject only to the consent of the proprietor in whose land any excavation might be proposed to be made.

Unfortunately, the defective condition of Dr. Lee's journal does not enable us to trace his route, or to give any account of his researches from this date until August, 1813, when we find him on the coast of Spain, where he followed the fortunes of the Duke of Wellington's army as energetically as he had formerly his antiquarian excavations. His letters of this date overflow with military intelligence, though of mere ephemeral interest, but containing, nevertheless, many astute observations upon the course of the political and military events of the day. His observations upon the character, social habits, and conduct of the people among whom he was thrown, also display considerable power of observation and acuteness. His reports, however, are by no means favourable to the Spanish character, of which he formed but a very low estimate. He admired their patriotism and zeal, and eulogized their openness of character and genial frankness; he did not even condemn their pride, but he abhorred their coarseness and general rudeness of manner. As compared with the French, they lost considerably by the comparison, and appeared to great disadvantage; they were less refined in their manners, less friendly in their intercourse, and in every respect less agreeable companions. It may, however, be added in justice to Dr. Lee's gallantry, that he claims an exception from this general verdict of condemnation in favour of the Spanish ladies. Of them he ever speaks with the enthusiasm of an admirer, and never fails, on suitable occasions, to sing their praises.

In May, 1814, we find Dr. Lee at Elba, at which place he was a spectator of the arrival of Napoleon after his downfall. He relates circumstantially an evening passed with the fallen hero. The assembly of visitors being arrived in the great hall, Napoleon suddenly entered, and proceeded to seat himself in the centre chair, in the front of the company, having the wife of General Doleson, the ex-commandant, on his right hand, and Madame R— on his left. The rest of the company were arranged according to their respective degrees of rank. The entrance of Napoleon was a signal for the dancing to commence, and it continued with slight

intermission till two o'clock on the following morning. Perceiving Colonel Campbell in the room, Napoleon called him towards him, and engaged him in conversation until after the third dance, when Napoleon arose from his seat, and commenced his rounds, addressing such of the ladies present as had been announced by his master of the ceremonies. To the ladies thus distinguished, he put the most trifling questions, as, respecting the state of their family, whether they danced, etc., etc. His voice was firm and steady, but his gait was otherwise, and he rolled from side to side. After having completed his rounds, he resumed his seat, and the dancing recommenced.

After some time there was another pause, and Napoleon again arose from his chair, when a similar ceremony was enacted. And shortly after midnight he left the room.

From Elba Dr. Lee proceeded to Florence, and thence to Rome, where he arrived on the 13th of July, 1814. It is much to be regretted that the defective state of the journals of this period deprives us of any record of his impressions of the ancient city. We have reason to believe that his sojourn here was sufficiently long to have enabled him to have furnished some valuable observations upon arts and antiquities, but his letters written at this time, so far as any have been discovered, do not convey any information or observations of interest upon these subjects, and it may be supposed that his social engagements might have interfered with his scientific pursuits, which always require severe and steady application, and are ever jealous of divided favours.

In August, he left Rome and proceeded to Naples, losing no time in visiting Pompeii: of this visit he writes:—

“Whoever has not visited this extraordinary emblem of the instability of human institutions, would have great difficulty in picturing to himself the impression made upon the mind of the traveller when he first beholds the ruins of Pompeii, a city which, after lying eighteen hundred years in the tomb, is at length brought back upon the earth, not, however, as a familiar entity, but as a stranger amongst the nations, an historical marvel.” He had seen at Rome the ruins of the great public monuments; he had studied again the history of Rome in her stones and shattered columns; but here he saw produced before him the familiar and domestic life of a people who had vanished from the face of the earth for nearly two thousand years. Their destruction had even preserved their memory, for the volcano which had overwhelmed them had preserved them in its ashes from the devastating energy of time. Paintings, bronzes, and statues had preserved their original beauty and gracefulness; and the most familiar and humble utensils of domestic life were in so perfect a state that they seemed as though they had never ceased to be of the earth. Some festal arrangements appeared as though they had just been prepared, even the domestic labour of the citizens had the appearance of being actually in progress, the flour was mixed, and appeared to be waiting only for the kneading; the shops were open for customers, and seemed but as of yesterday; skeletons were seen as though engaged in the active business of life, one especially, which eighteen centuries before had been a woman, and which still stood in the grim reality of mortality, had shrunk from the costly jewellery which encircled her fleshless arms. He walked through the streets, and saw the Amphitheatre, Temple, and adjacent buildings, some of which had been incrustated with fine marble; he walked on the pavement which, once familiar with the tread of busy life, had now ceased to be trodden by the foot of man for eighteen hundred years. He traced the marks of carriage wheels upon the roads, as though the impressions had been as of yesterday. He entered the Temple of Isis, where stood the altar, and he

marked the concealed places where the priests pronounced the answers of the oracles.

Dr. Lee was particularly struck with the very limited capacity of the private houses; the streets were narrow but regular, and the houses of low elevation, principally of two stories. The interiors had been ornamented with paintings and the floors enriched with mosaic; but he found that most of the paintings and the best specimens of the mosaic floors had been lately removed.

In art, Dr. Lee seems to have viewed the labours of the painter and sculptor with unequal favour, invariably giving to the latter the first place. Though an enthusiastic admirer of sculpture, he never warmed in his description of the best pictures, and leaves upon the mind of his readers the impression that he did not feel the magic of the *chiaro-oscuro* of art. His remarks generally on paintings are unfavourable, and his criticism upon some of the *chefs d'œuvre* of Italy, will not, certainly, at the present day secure popular acquiescence.

Speaking of Raffaele, he writes:—

"I do not admire his works; the 'School of Athens,' in my opinion, is an over-rated work—it observes neither the unity of time nor action. You are shown, in one place, Socrates; in another, Pythagoras; some who had been at Athens, some never; some who lived before the others were thought of. But you are also shown one person whom you are told was the Duke of —, dressed in a Greek costume, and who was the artist's patron, and to whom he wished to pay court. You are next shown the artist himself, on the same canvas, in company with Socrates, Plato, etc."

In another letter, when speaking of painting, he writes:—

"When I look upon paintings, even of the first merit, I cannot help lamenting that the artists should have spent all their lives and services upon baubles which in themselves cannot last more than five or six hundred years; whereas, had the artists devoted their studies to statuary, or bronze, their works would have preserved their names down to eternity. We know nothing, or at least very little, of the Greek or Roman painters, whereas we abound in the productions of their sculptors and architects, whose works have immortalized them and the country of their birth."

In another letter, dated Naples, the 27th August, he writes:—

"I saw to-day, Venus and Adonis, by Canova, which, in my opinion, is the most interesting marble in Naples. If Canova is inferior to the Greek statuary in drapery, etc., etc., he is far superior to them in the choice of his subjects. All his females are delightful. If I had my choice of all the marbles in Naples, I would select this group."

The months of May to-October, in 1814, inclusively, were employed in Rome, Bologna, Modena, Varese, Bergamo, and Padua; but his journals do not record anything of this period. This is the more to be regretted, because there was doubtless much in this tour to engage his particular talents, and not a little which came fairly within the range of the main object of his researches.

The defective condition of the journals deprives us of any further information until April, 1815. In this month we find him in Dresden, which place he left on the 29th of April for Leipsic. Whilst at Leipsic, his correspondence seems to have been very limited, but in one of his letters we find him remarking upon the contrast between Italy and Germany as regarded the use of public libraries and institutions. He writes, "that inferior institutions are in general the most illiberal, and cost most trouble and money to make available." In Italy he had found galleries and libraries open at all hours, and had experienced every facility that could be afforded to the traveller. In Germany, on the contrary, he found the reverse of this, and complained that no public institution was, in that

country, easy of access, and notwithstanding the reputation which it had acquired for reducing everything to system, he had there found the greatest difficulty in effecting the commonest objects, and greater than in other countries where everything was supposed to be without system, or order of arrangement. The Germans, he says, "are prone to effect everything by mechanism, nothing by the impulse of genius; not that there is any lack of able professors, but because their talents seem lost for want of encouragement. In fact, as a result of the impoverished condition of the country, the consequence of the protracted war, the professors were very insufficiently paid, and did not consequently attract that notice and consideration to which they were justly entitled."

Dr. Lee now passed into Holland, of the people of which country he seems to have formed a much more favourable opinion than of the German. He praises their cleanliness, neatness, and thriftiness; and their social habits and untiring industry left upon him a most favourable impression. Speaking of Holland, he remarks, "How different is this country from Germany, which produces nothing but soldiers and nobles, a pride of ancestry and philosophical theories. In Germany, neither art, science, nor manufacture seems to flourish, nevertheless the people are instructed and polite, yet indolent and unclean to the last degree; and the change which strikes the traveller on entering the first village of Holland is very conspicuous." He now visited Amsterdam, and passed through Rotterdam and Ostend, and thence to Dover, where he arrived on the 25th of July, 1815. In four days afterwards we find him in the bosom of his family at Totteridge Park, enjoying the innocent pleasures of domestic life—pleasures which he always appreciated most highly to the end of his days. In the closing sentences of the journal, which records his last journey and his arrival on British shores after his long absence, we find the following characteristic entry:—

"Great as are the pleasures of travelling, and of seeing and studying various distant countries, climes, and languages—interesting as it is to observe the infinity of costumes, habitudes, and peculiarities, which distinguish human nature in different parts of the globe, still I think that the pleasure and interest arising from travelling fall infinitely short of the satisfaction and delight which we experience on returning to our fatherland; nor is there any pleasure found in the excitement and turmoil of foreign travel comparable with the ecstasy of embracing our relations and friends after a long absence, nor with the delight we experience in finding them enjoying health and happiness, to say nothing of the pleasure we receive by their affectionate reception and hearty welcome in a spot endeared to us by early recollections, and surrounded by the objects of our youthful and happiest associations."

"The experience which we acquire and the discipline of character which we gain by foreign travels, in short, all the advantages of buffeting of life, tend together to verify the old maxims, that 'Honesty is the best policy,' 'Do unto others as you would be done by,' and 'Old friends are the best.' I am quite sure that although intrigues and splendour may delight and dazzle, gaiety and magnificence amuse and please for awhile, that true happiness is not to be found in such pursuits, but is only to be secured by learning how to pass our life, without frivolity, in peace and harmony in the bosom of our family, and in the grateful but difficult task of endeavouring to repay to our kindred, those attentions and comforts which we have formerly received from them in our youth. That man's life is not ill spent who becomes a bright example to the world, an honour to his country, a credit to his university, a friend and support to his companions and acquaintances, and a blessing to his kindred and friends."

By the death of his maternal uncle, the late William Lee Antonio, Esq.,

in 1815, Dr. Lee acquired the valuable estates of Colworth, in Bedfordshire, Totteridge Park, and other considerable estates, which, in 1827, were augmented by the demise of the Rev. Sir George Lee, Bart., under whose will he acquired his estate of Hartwell, in the county of Bucks.

On his return from his travels, Dr. Lee resumed his studies of the Roman, Civil, and Ecclesiastical law, with a view to practise in the courts of Doctors' Commons, and in due course he took his degree of LL.D., and was admitted a member of the College of Advocates. He was a regular attendant in these courts for many years, as has been ascertained from several sources, and especially from the copious notes of cases which he took during this period. It was not until these courts were destroyed by the statute of 20 & 21 Vic., cap. 77, that he discontinued his attendance in Doctors' Commons, and very shortly after his retirement he received the honour of being appointed one of Her Majesty's Counsel. He now relinquished his house in Doctors' Commons, and spent the remainder of his days at Hartwell House.

Dr. Lee was never insensible to the importance of progress, nor to the duty of improving his estate; and on his acquisition of Hartwell, we find him at once embarked in the duties of a landlord, apportioning allotments, and in other respects promoting the comfort, convenience, and welfare of his tenants and dependants. From this period he seems to have distributed his time between his profession and his duties as a country gentleman, except such interval of his leisure which he was able to devote to the pursuit of science; and it would be difficult to find any one more devoted to his vocation than Dr. Lee. His habits and amusements were of extreme simplicity, and being prudent and economical in his private expenses, he was the better enabled to be munificent in works of public utility and charity. There were few institutions having charitable, literary, or other objects of general usefulness, that did not participate in his liberality. Of the County Infirmary, he was a most munificent friend and supporter. He had not resided long at Hartwell before he became sensible of the absence of such an important institution, and he concentrated all his energies in the task of establishing one in the county. He visited the sick, sympathized with and relieved the sorrowful, and supplied the wants of the poor; in short, he did all in his power to emulate the virtues of his much respected predecessor, the Rev. Sir George Lee, by whose death the poor of Hartwell had lost a kind and affectionate friend and a benevolent landlord.

It was about this time that Dr. Lee began to devote himself assiduously to the study of astronomy. In 1831, he erected an observatory at Hartwell, and furnished it with the best instruments which the skill and handicraft of the day could supply. Much of his time, and no inconsiderable portion of his income, were devoted to astronomical pursuits. He was, from the very birth of the Royal Astronomical Society, one of its most energetic and active fellows, was seldom absent from its ordinary meetings, and was equally assiduous in his attendance at the meetings of the Council. In 1836, he munificently gave to the Society, their heirs and successors, the advowson of Hartwell, and, in 1844, the vicarage of Stone, in the County of Bucks, with a view to the promotion of the study of astronomy in connection with theology. His devotion to this science led to a very extensive correspondence with many of the leading astronomers of Europe, and his hospitality attracted to Hartwell a large circle of friends distinguished in the annals of scholarship and science. In 1862, Dr. Lee was elected President of the Royal Astronomical Society by a very large majority of the fellows, the Astronomer Royal being his competitor. He performed the duties of the office greatly to the satisfaction of his astronomical friends and the Society in general. In 1864 his term of office expired, but he

continued to devote much of his time to the Society up to a few weeks before his death.

As an Antiquary, Dr. Lee most willingly accepted the office of Vice-President of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of the County of Buckingham. He took a lively interest in its welfare, and on two occasions when the members made an annual excursion from Aylesbury, he entertained them at Hartwell House.

Dr. Lee was an indefatigable collector of geological specimens, and his museum at Hartwell, at the time of his decease, was well stored with innumerable objects calculated to illustrate the boundless range of this science. Here were fragments of rocks, lavas, obsidians, etc., etc., and among them the black meteoric stone which fell in Oxfordshire in 1830. Of fossils collected in the neighbourhood of Hartwell there was no lack, and as the estate is remarkably rich in fossil remains, this department of his museum was correspondingly rich and valuable.

From the period of his Eastern travels, Dr. Lee had devoted much time and attention to the collection of coins and medals; and having enjoyed special advantages in this pursuit, he had been very successful, and was at the time of his death possessed of a magnificent collection. He possessed also a large cabinet of casts of celebrated cameos, intaglios, and other engraved gems of Egypt, Persia, Etruria, etc., etc. Dr. Lee's extensive collection of numismatic treasures filled six cabinets, two being devoted to Greek coins, principally relating to the places which he had visited, and many of these were not more remarkable for their rarity, than their extreme beauty. But it would be impossible to convey within the narrow limits of a memoir any idea of the treasures contained within the museum at Hartwell. The Egyptian division alone would require a volume to do it justice, to say nothing of such parts of the collection as relate to other branches of Archaeology and natural history.

Although Dr. Lee devoted so large a portion of his life to the cultivation of science, he was no less interested in the progress of civil society, and was keenly alive to the politics and business of his county; indeed, few of the great events of the day happened without attracting his notice, or in some sort engaging his attention. It was on this account, that although this period of Dr. Lee's life was probably more fully employed than any other, that his journals of this time afford few materials available to a memoir of his life. Divided principally between the courts of Doctors' Commons, the business of the county, and matters of purely local and ephemeral interest, his journals of this time supply no materials of such a character as to justify their publication.

As a country gentleman, Dr. Lee had entered upon a new stage of existence, and had assumed a character having little in common with the pursuits of his earlier life. Having left England immediately on quitting Cambridge, he could have enjoyed few opportunities of accumulating that species of worldly experience and practical wisdom, so useful to all whose fate it is to wrestle with fortune, but especially to such as become suddenly rich and exposed to the insidious seductions of luxury, or the assaults of designing knavery. But we have no reason to doubt that Dr. Lee was fully equal to the requirements of his new position. It is certain, however, that his long absence from his native shores had done much to mould his character into the form which distinguished him afterwards, throughout the rest of his long career. His most intimate friends at the time remarked the change that had come over him: he was more serious and thoughtful than when at Cambridge, less sprightly in his converse, more addicted to contemplation. He was no longer the light-hearted and playful companion, whom his friends had known at the University: he no longer delighted in the easy and pleasant sallies of wit, or sparkling *jeu de mots* which gild the

hours of the gay and thoughtless. His attention was now more rigidly turned to the severer forms of life, and he seemed to feel little sympathy with any of the distractions which disturb the serious pursuits of business or science. The lighter class of literature seems to have had few attractions for Dr. Lee. He was generally indifferent to poetry: and the world of fiction was to him a *terra incognita*. For the *belles lettres* he had but little taste, but of archæology, and especially Egyptian antiquities and astronomy, he was always an assiduous student. Much of his time also was occupied in the pursuit of meteorology and its kindred subjects. In geology he was also warmly interested, and was constantly adding to his museum specimens found in his neighbourhood, illustrative of the subject. Of books relating to geography and travels, especially in the East, he was a constant reader, and few cotemporaneous travels escaped his notice.

However, it is believed that he discontinued to read abstract mathematics upon any regular plan from the time he left the University, though from time to time he continued to study some concrete mathematical subjects with undiminished assiduity.

With the exception of what has been stated in a former part of this memoir, Dr. Lee did not contribute as an author to the literature of his country. The following works were, however, undertaken and completed by the late Admiral Smyth, at the request and sole expense of Dr. Lee:—

1. "Descriptive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial large Brass Medals." 4to, Bedford, 1834.
2. "Ædes Hartwellianæ: Notices of the Manor and Mansion of Hartwell." 4to, London 1851. In this work will be found a description of the Observatory and Instruments, and observations made there by Mr. James Epps and Admiral Smyth.
3. "Addenda to Ædes Hartwellianæ." 4to, London, 1864.
4. "The Cycle of Celestial Objects, continued at the Hartwell Observatory in 1859." 4to, London, 1860. This work is commonly known as "Speculum Hartwellianum."
5. "Siderial Chromatics, being a reprint, with additions, from the Bedford Cycle of Celestial Objects, and its Hartwell continuation on the colours of Multiple Stars, 1864."

One of the most prominently marked characteristics of Dr. Lee was the inflexibility of his opinions when once formed. It cannot be said that he was obstinate, in the accurate sense of the word, because his opinions were ever formed upon careful efforts to ascertain truth, and his judgments were invariably based upon reason and never upon passion. If he was sometimes wrong, it was the result of some error of judgment, the consequence of some imperfect deduction or faulty generalization; but whether his views were right or wrong, they were conscientious, and always the result of a calm and passionless examination of the materials with which he had to deal. He was, perhaps, slow in discovering and obstinately incredulous of the knavery of others, and his benevolent disposition made him always unwilling to give ear to reports which savoured of slander; he was ever ready to discover the good in a man's character, and averse to believe, except upon the most conclusive evidence, anything disparaging to the character of another. It is quite certain that he was not so impressible by the opinions of majorities, as are most men who have not the leisure to examine for themselves; not that he was indifferent to the views and opinions of others—for no man paid greater respect to public opinion than Dr. Lee—but he boldly weighed it against his own views, and never hesitated to allow the latter to preponderate in forming his judgment if his conscience satisfied him that he was right. It was this independence of judgment that frequently acquired for his opinions a semblance of eccentricity, but when his judgment was once formed, he submitted to no

appeal. One of the conspicuous fruits of this inflexibility of judgment was, that his political opinions did not always command general or popular sympathy. His conclusions might be strictly just in the abstract, but his ideas were incapable of adjustment to the requirements of social humanity as it is. He did not always make allowance for the asperities of human nature, and his theories were not always in harmony with the organic laws of social life. Truth, as he saw it, was his idol, and justice in the abstract was the deity before whose altar he daily sacrificed; where the first was not attainable, or the second to be reached by the ordinary efforts of humanity, he had no *locus standi*. His creed was, that what was true was to be believed, and what was just was to be done; and his placable character often closed his eyes to the fact, that justice is too often blind or indiscriminating when she takes her seat upon the political tribunal. He was an uncompromising liberal in politics, and the individuality of his character was too strongly marked and obstinately organized to suffer him to become an instrument of party warfare. He was emphatically a man of moral courage, and utterly insensible to ridicule or banter; he did not permit it to have any weight in regulating his own judgments, nor did he admit it to have any importance as a test of truth; he merely put it down at a very low price, and, as he believed, at its proper and intrinsic value. He would meet an expression of disapprobation from a multitude of voices in the same calm and undisturbed manner as he would encounter the most ordinary disappointment in private life. He might have been seen at a county election warding off the yells of an excited and tumultuous crowd by a countenance utterly unmoved, unless by a playful smile, which seemed to express, "I am utterly indifferent to your clamour, and it is not in my nature to be angry with you; your opposition to my views does not offend me, for I am convinced that if I have not your approbation, it is because you cannot understand my reasoning, and your dulness and vociferation shall not disturb my equanimity, nor encroach upon the dignity of human nature; I will not be turned aside from my purpose by any amount of noise and tumult, nor will I be intimidated by your reproaches." Such attacks were not uncommon nor unfamiliar to Dr. Lee, and were often accompanied by demonstrations of disapprobation and ridicule, but they fell harmless, and were little heeded by the kind-hearted doctor; his invincible temper never yielded to the taunts or jeers of an angry crowd; in fact, a chorus of ridicule fell upon his ears as harmlessly as the chorus of a song.

But however insensible Dr. Lee might be to popular attacks, he was far from being insensible or indifferent to the blandishments and innocent pleasures of private and domestic life. Though he never swerved from the guardianship of the opinions he once deliberately formed, he never intruded nor urged his views upon his friends unseasonably nor pertinaciously; nor would he permit himself or others to convert the festive board into an arena of party strife or religious animosity, and he always discouraged at his own table the discussion of such subjects as usually provoke a passionate difference of opinion.

Dr. Lee was a just and upright magistrate, and an obliging neighbour; he was an amiable, kind, and loving husband; a sincere and warm friend, a benevolent landlord, and generous, kind, and indulgent master. As a friend he was not warmly demonstrative, and to those who did not know him intimately, he had the appearance of being frigid, though nothing was farther from the truth. His great desire was to think and speak well of all men, and this sometimes exposed him to the artifices of charlatans; for he did not always discriminate between real and spurious claims to merit. But no man could charge him with deceit or double dealing.

Those who were once admitted to his confidence might securely reckon upon his lasting friendship ; for he never slighted nor deserted those who had the good fortune to enjoy his esteem. To struggling merit he ever held out a helping hand, and he never refused his aid to relieve misery or assuage suffering. So placable was his nature, and so insensible to injury, that he was unwilling, either by himself or others, to censure the conduct of persons who had most deeply wounded him. The passion of revenge he did not even understand, it was a passion to the influence of which he seemed totally insensible, and though his kindly nature sometimes exposed him to imposition, or to favour unworthy claims upon his generosity, he nevertheless abhorred deceit and dissimulation, and hated hypocrisy ; and he would never approve of nor give his sanction to any act of dishonesty, nor any conduct, however specious, which he believed to be based upon bad faith. He had no vice ; his moral character was above suspicion, and ever soared beyond the range of the sordidness of the vulgar passions. Through life he had looked calmly and steadily upon death, and when his declining health warned him of his approaching dissolution, his natural intrepidity did not forsake him, and as he had lived so he died, calmly and peaceably, the last words he was heard to utter, were—

“THY WILL BE DONE.”

He died at Hartwell, on the 25th of February, 1866, and was buried in the family vault under the church of that place.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.—1867.

The Annual Excursion of the members took place on Thursday, September 12th, and a visit was paid to Cuddington, Long Crendon, Boarstall Tower, Brill, and Wotton Underwood, to which latter place the members had been invited by his Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

Cuddington Church was first visited ; it is dedicated to St. Nicholas, and has been beautifully restored, from designs by the diocesan architect, G. E. Street, Esq.

Long Crendon Church, built in the twelfth century, is cruciform, with an embattled tower sixty feet high, at the intersection of the transepts with the nave and chancel. It has eight bells ; but Browne Willis mentions that in 1712 there were only five, said to be the largest in the county, one weighing forty hundredweight, cast in 1535. The second bell bears the following inscription :—“In multis annis resonat campana Johannis.” There is a remarkable window in the north transept, and under it an arch called by Browne Willis an “anchoret.” In the south transept is a monument “to the memory of Sir John Dormer, of Dorton, and Jane, his wife, the latter of whom died 8th of September, 1605.” The date of Sir John’s death, March 11th, 1626, was left blank, but was added at the recent restoration, on the authority of the parish register. Lipscomb is in error here, as well as in reference to the commencement of the register, which dates from 1559, when Johannis Trulove is styled vicar of the parish. The Dormer family originated in Thame as woolstaplers, and held large possessions in the neighbourhood. The monument was erected at great expense, being of foreign workmanship, and of Caen stone. The font, which is of the fourteenth century, is ornamented with couchant lions at the base, and saintly heads around, decorated with foliage. The names of “John Madge and John Greening, Churchwardens, 1633,” are inscribed on a stone over the arch leading from the south aisle to the south transept. John Greening was descended from one Christopher Greening, who

recovered the lost art of needle-making in 1560. His family illustrates the connection which often subsists for generations between a family and an occupation. The name of Greening figures prominently in the Charter of Monopoly granted by James I. to the original introducers of wire-drawing into England. The manufacture was commenced at Tintern Abbey, where half a century ago the family pursued their calling, until the grandfather of the present generation settled at Manchester, and established the "Greening and Co. Victoria Iron Works." Some of the brasses relate to the Canon, Canan, or Cannan family, the earliest bearing date 1468. In the middle alley of the church is the following epitaph :—"Here lyeth the body of Frances, the daughter of Jerard and Frances Burnham; she dyed the 9th of August, 1690, aged 1 yr and 9 months.

"Beneath this stone here innocence doth lie,
A rose just budded, blusht and then did die,
As if it were afraid to blow, least sin
Should blast its spotless purity within."

Near the entrance to the churchyard is a very old building, the upper part of which is now used as a schoolroom, and for holding the Court Leet in Whitsun-week. A market was formerly held here, the staple commodity of which, being wool, gave it the name of "Staple Hall." The Court Rolls are sometimes exhibited here, and bear date from about the eighth century. At the end of the village, on the Oakley road, there are some remains of Crendon Park, and farmhouses with Elizabethan chimneys.

At Brill Church the visitors inspected two frescoes of St. Peter and St. Paul, which have lately been discovered in the thickness of the chancel arch, one on each side.

On arriving at Wotton a visit was paid to the church. A chancel aisle has been built by the present Duke of Buckingham, and the chapel, which contains the tombs of his ancestors, has been thrown open by the removal of the iron railings which formerly screened them from view.

The members assembled in the large saloon of the mansion, where the Annual Meeting was held, the Duke of Buckingham presiding.

The Rev. C. LOWNDES read the Report of the Committee, which stated that the Society continued in a prosperous state, and referred to the excursion made last year to Claydon and Addington as having been in every way successful.

Archdeacon BICKERSTETH moved that the report be adopted, printed, and circulated amongst the members.

The Rev. A. BAKER, in seconding the resolution, said, as this was almost the only opportunity for making remarks as to the working of the Society, he would venture to throw out a suggestion. From his clear recollection of the circumstances attending the institution of the Society, he could say, that among the objects contemplated by its promoters was what he would call practical utility—that they should not form a mere literary club, but that their chief aim should be to encourage and advance the art, especially the ecclesiastical art, of the county. They intended to collect plans of churches, schools, and parsonage houses, and other public buildings, to improve the ecclesiastical taste of the county, and to assist in applying what might be called the principles of architecture to the practical details of ecclesiastical art. He regretted that they seemed to have somewhat dropped out of that path. They had hoped, by collecting plans, to be able to guide and advise those who were engaged in church restoration, or church building, or other work of a similar kind. One of the rules specially prescribed that the Committee should meet once a quarter, or oftener, in order that they might keep an eye on the progress of resto-

ration and architectural work in the neighbourhood, and help to increase the interest in ecclesiastical art in the county. He merely threw out the hint for the consideration of the Committee at Aylesbury, that they might see whether it was possible to carry out the idea more fully than seemed to have been done of late. By recording every church restoration and every new church built in the transactions of the Society, they would furnish an important addition to the materials for a county history.

The adoption of the report was carried unanimously.

G. L. BROWNE, Esq., then moved the re-election of the whole of the officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

Sir HARRY VERNEX seconded the motion. He would remind them that ecclesiastical architecture was not the only branch of archaeological knowledge to which they should give attention. His own attention was drawn to the subject by a recent article in the "Quarterly Review," showing how, in many parts of England, most beautiful and interesting architectural remains were going to ruin from utter inattention. In Cornwall some of the old monuments, supposed to be Celtic, or at all events of a pre-historical date, were used as quarries of materials of which to build houses in different places. It appeared to him that this was a subject to which the public ought to give attention, and that these remains should be under the attention of some public body—either a local authority under the responsibility of a member of the Government, or at any rate some competent authority. It was stated that there are ancient monuments extending beyond the memory of man, consisting of sixty or seventy large stones, of which all but half a dozen have disappeared. Suppose Stonehenge were to be removed in that way; surely we should feel that it ought to be preserved by somebody. Speaking in the presence of a member of the Government, he ventured to ask whether the Government should not turn their attention to this matter, and nominate some authority which should be responsible for the protection of these ancient monuments?

The motion was carried unanimously, and several gentlemen, their names having been previously submitted to the Committee, were elected members of the Society.

The Rev. C. LOWNDES next read a paper by Mr. E. J. Payne, of Wycombe, on "The Legends of the Swan."

The Rev. A. BAKER next read a paper on the life of Bishop Hough, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who defended the rights of his college against the arbitrary encroachments of James II., who would have forced into the headship persons in every way disqualified. The writer, by a singular coincidence, became possessed, while in New Zealand, of a book once the property of Bishop Hough, a copy of the Jewish Kalendar for 1696, in the blank leaves of which are various private memoranda. The substance of the paper appeared in the "Ecclesiastic," for the present month.

The Rev. A. BAKER next submitted to the meeting a curious MS. book lent by the Rev. Mr. CROSS, of Mursley, entitled "Memoirs of the Winslow Choir," from the year 1755, apparently compiled about the year 1832, from old documents. It traced the history of music in the parish through three eras—first, the merely vocal, from 1755, the only instrument in use being a pitchpipe; second, the introduction of instruments, about 1790; and, thirdly, "solmization," and singing before service, commenced in 1829. It would appear that in 1790 the choir "had lost so much of its usual talent and ability that at times it was with considerable difficulty that sufficient strength could be mustered to sing an ordinary psalm in divine service," and the few who remained "were compelled to adopt the artificial aid of music." The order in which the various instruments were introduced

would appear to be as follows: the flute, hautboy, bassoon, clarionet, and violoncello. Among many personal anecdotes of the members of the choir, it was noticed as a remarkable circumstance that six brothers, progenitors of Mr. John Gibbs, were constant ringers on each New Year's Day from 1647 down to the period when he, with five other brothers, succeeded them, and continued to ring on the New Year's Day in like manner. These two generations completed seventy years in this annual performance.

The members then proceeded to inspect the various objects of interest before them, among which were the "Boarstall horn," and the "Boarstall Book," containing a complete chartulary of Boarstall (a transcript of evidences in the time of Henry VI.), an old signet ring, and several badges, one having the representation of a horn. Other objects of interest were, a silver brooch, worn by the Pretender while a fugitive in Scotland, bearing the inscription "P.C., 1717;" an enamelled miniature of Charles II., and a badge of the Order of the Bath worn by Sir R. Temple, an ancestor of the present Duke of Buckingham, at the coronation of that monarch. The Duke of Buckingham also called attention to an old plan of Brill and Ludgershall, before Bernwood Forest was disafforested, which, from deeds referring to it, was probably of the date of A.D. 1520 to 1540. On comparing this plan with the present features of the country he recognized two important landmarks—a little clump of trees on Windmill Hill and the great tree on Farm Hill—as still existing. An ancient terrier was also exhibited, written in 1657 by Mr. Grenville, one of the Duke's ancestors, with his own hand. This document shows the Mercers' Company as owners of land in this locality at that early period. At the end is a curious entry to the effect that by the Parliament, began in 1640, commonly called the Long Parliament, archbishops, bishops, deacons, and chaplains, and the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy were abolished, and the glebe land belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as to the rectory of Wotton had been sold, but that since the happy restoration of King Charles II., the archbishops, bishops, deacons, and chaplains had been restored to their estates, "so that I (the writer) have now lost again the glebe land which I have set down in this book as my own."

Archdeacon BICKERSTETH, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Duke of Buckingham for his hospitable reception of the Society, said that when his Grace made the kind offer to receive the Association he was not then a member of the Government, so that he might have found a valid reason for not fulfilling his engagement, in the onerous duties which had since devolved on him. It was certainly not without some inconvenience that he had given them a portion of his time. He felt sure that he was expressing the feeling of every member of the Association in saying that they felt grateful for the hospitable reception which they had met with under such circumstances, and for his Grace's kindness in placing before them so many objects of interest.

The Rev. H. BULL seconded the motion.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM, in acknowledging the compliment, said—It is a great pleasure to the Duchess and myself to have the opportunity of receiving some of our neighbours here. At the time when I expressed a hope that the Society should meet here, I had very little expectation of being a Secretary of State, although I was then a member of the Government in a position where I had more control over my own time. I was greatly afraid, as the summer drew to an end without much prospect of getting out of London, that I should be obliged to ask you either to postpone your visit till a period too late to allow of a pleasant excursion, or to defer it till another year. I think these societies must do, and have

done, a great deal of good, by drawing attention to the relics which exist unknown in many nooks and corners of old England. More than this, it will be found to have often prevented injudicious measures of what is called restoration, but which is really as great a work of destruction as any that is going on at the present time. Sir Harry Verney has alluded to the destruction of many monuments of antiquity in various parts of England. I have seen in Cornwall a great deal of this going on under the eyes of persons who, if their attention were drawn to it, would be the first to say that it should not go on. There are close to Buckingham farm buildings erected in great part by my own family out of the destruction of most ancient Roman remains. We discovered very curious pavements, rooms, etc., showing that if the search had been made fifty or sixty years before, we might have laid open the *arcana* of a Roman house, and all its domestic arrangements, as perfect as any preserved in Herculaneum and Pompeii. I have much more faith in the voluntary effort of persons interested in the preservation of these relics than in Government charge of them. The first thing—very satisfactory to individuals—would be the employment of a great number of people in the country to do very little. These persons would not do a great deal of work without many other good people to look after them, and I do not think that would be found extremely pleasing to the House of Commons. If it was thought that Government action would be good in preserving these relics, there is no one more able to bring the subject forward in the House of Commons than Sir Harry Verney. There is another point of disadvantage. Government have the care and direction of large museums in London and the neighbourhood, national collections into which it is their duty to get every valuable relic, showing the past history of the country, and exemplifying the progress of art. The first thing that would result from Government care would be the centralization of everything in London, on the plea that it is impossible to take care of it in the country. I want rather to see these old relics preserved in their own localities, and I really think it will be done far better by local societies calling the attention of local residents to them, than by any possible Government provision that can be devised. There are many things in our own county, for example, the curious works thrown up in the civil war, near Muswell Hill, in front of these windows, and Boarstall Tower, which you have seen to-day. Their preservation must depend on how the tower is occupied, and as to the earthworks, on whether the farmer is allowed to plough over them. These are not matters which can be trusted to Government. If we look at what governments do in other countries—for example, in France—I doubt if you will find this work better carried out than in England. Certainly, the last thirty or forty years have done a great deal to insure the care of these relics for the future, and if, as I trust, within the next few years the interest in our social history should become more general, and this Society should persevere in urging upon the local proprietors to take care of these relics, a great deal will be done to preserve our past history. Perhaps, when the Society desires to visit again the northern part of the county, in the neighbourhood of Buckingham, you will honour the Duchess and myself by allowing us to receive you at Stowe (applause).

The company were entertained, at the close of the meeting, at a sumptuous luncheon, and shortly afterwards took their leave, after spending one of the most pleasant days which the members of the Society have ever enjoyed.

THE LEES OF QUARRENDON.

BY THE REV. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.C.L.,
F.S.A. LOND. AND SCOT.

[PART THE SECOND.]

Continued from page 214.

IN addition to his three sons, Henry, Robert, and Cromwell, Sir Anthony Lee, according to a pedigree of the Lees of Hatfield, co. York, had another son Thomas; and from Pedigree C—in the possession of the Rev. T. C. Thornton, of Brockball, co. Northampton—it appears that he had likewise four daughters:—1. Lettice; 2. Joice; 3. Jane; and 4. Katharine. Of these, the eldest, Lettice, married Nicholas Cooke, of Linstead, in Suffolk, Esquire; Joice married John Cheyne, of Chesham Bois, co. Bucks, Esquire, as the following extract from the parish register testifies:—

“Maister John Cheyne, esquier, and Mistress Joice Lee, the daughter of Sir Anthony Lee, knight, were married the xxix. day of November, A°. Dni. 1561.”

We learn from the same source that “Joice, the wife of John Cheyne, was buried at Drayton Beauchamp, co. Bucks, July xi., 1579.” The writer has been unable to discover anything concerning Jane, the remaining daughter.

By Sir Anthony Lee’s second wife, whom he married only a year before he died, he had a son, Richard, afterwards knighted, who probably married Lady Croker, of Hooknorton.

In the Dytechley Library is a MS., no doubt written by Elizabeth Tanfield, who afterwards married Lord Falkland. It is “dedicated to my uncle, Sir Henry Lee.” Thus Katharine, Sir Anthony’s youngest daughter, married Mr. Symonds, of Cley, co. Norfolk; and their daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir Henry Carey, first Viscount Falkland, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ire-

land. Thus, Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, was descended from the Lee family,* through his mother. A brother of Lady Tanfield, Lee Symonds—several of whose bold and striking autographs attached to family deeds are possessed by the writer of this paper—appears to have been a clerk or officer in the Armoury, under his uncle, Sir Henry Lee, K.G., and his name is several times signed to the accounts. A figure of Sir Henry Lee on horseback, in the armour he wore, is still shown at the Tower of London.

The Post-mortem inquisition of Sir Anthony Lee was taken at Aylesbury, on the 25th September, in the 3rd and 4th of Edward VI. Sir Anthony died the 24th November, 3rd of Edward VI. His son and heir was then seventeen years of age.

SIR ROBERT LEE, of Quarrendon, on the death of his first wife, married Letitia, daughter of Sir Thomas Penyston, Knt., and widow of Robert Knollys, Esq., of Nether Winchendon, co. Bucks [arms of Penyston, of Hawridge, co. Bucks: Argent, three choughs sable]. "Robert Knollys was Gentleman of the Privy Council to King Henry VIII., and had from that monarch a lease for a certain number of years of the Manor of Rotherfield Greys, co. Oxon. He married Letitia, dr. of Sir Thomas Penyston, Knt., Lord of Hawrage [or Hawridge] and Marshall, in Bucks, and by her (who married, secondly, Sir Robert Lee, of Quarrendon, in Bucks; and thirdly, Sir Thomas Tresham, Lord Prior of St. John) had a daughter, Jane, married to Mr. Richard Wingfield, of Kimbolton Castle, and a son and heir, Sir Francis Knollys."†

By his wife Letitia [Penyston, or Knollys] Sir Robert Lee had issue three sons—1. Benedict; 2. Roger; and 3. John; and two daughters, 1. Elizabeth, and 2. Mary.

* The writer has an original miniature of Lucius Carey, which came to him from the Lees of Yorkshire.

† MS. in possession of the writer. Francis Knollys, of Thame, co. Oxon, Esq., a member of this family, was created a baronet 1st April, 1754. He was sheriff of Oxfordshire in 1757, and M.P. for Reading in 1761. He married, in 1756, Mary, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Kendall Carter, of Kempstone, co. Bedford, but dying without issue 29th June, 1772, the baronetcy expired.

1. BENEDICT LEE, of Hulcott and Bagginton, co. Bucks, who died in 1574, married Elizabeth, fourth daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Cheyne, of Hulcott, co. Bucks.

2. Roger Lee married Isabel, fifth daughter of the said Robert and Elizabeth Cheyne.

3. John Lee (living 1520), married Alice, daughter of Robert Dalby, Esq., and had issue the Lees of Binfield, co. Berks, and of Yorkshire.

1. Elizabeth married Sir Thomas Tresham, Knt.

2. Mary Lee married Thomas Lane, Gent.

The following pedigree of Cheyne and Lee, compiled from parish registers, is authentic and reliable. The writer is indebted to the late Rev. Henry Roundell, Vicar of Buckingham, for several facts and some assistance in its compilation :—

Arms of Cheyne, co. Bucks : Chequey or and az. a fesse gules
fretty ar.

John Cheyne, Esq., sheriff of Bucks 1505, and sheriff of Beds 1520, died Jan. 1, 1535. — Margaret, daughter of Robert Ingleton, of Thornton, co. Bucks, Esq.

1.	2	3
Robert, married—Elizabeth, daughter 1535, died 1542, aged 47, born at Chesham Bois.	Margaret, mar. Paul Dayrell, Esq., of Lillingstone Dayrell.	Elizabeth, mar. William Fawconer, Esq., of Ashendon, co. Bucks.
of John Webb, Esq., of co. Hertford, widow of Fulke Odell, Esq.		

1	2	3	4	5
John, his heir, married Winifred, daughter of John, 1st Lord Mordaunt, of Turvey, co. Beds. who died July 8, 1561, and was buried at Chesham Bois; he mar. 2ndly, Joice, or Jocosa, daughter of Sir Anthony Lee, Knt., of Quarrendon.	Katharine, mar. 1st, Christopher Lidecott, of Yorkshire; and 2ndly, Edward Maystyn.	Margaret, married Richard Duncombe of Marlow, co. Bucks.	Elizabeth, married Benedict Lee, Esq., of Hulcott, co. Bucks, A.D. 1529, brother of Sir Robert Lee, Knt.	Isabel, mar. Roger Lee, of Pittson, co. Bucks.*

It should be mentioned here that some pedigrees (*e.g.*, that at Brockhall, marked C) make Benedict Lee, of Hulcott and Bagginton, brother, and not son, of Sir

* At Chesham Bois, there remains in the church the brass effigy of Benedict Lee, a chrysome child, with the following inscription :—"Of Roger Lee, gentleman, here lyeth the son, Benedict Lee, chrysome, whose soul Ihu pardon."

Robert Lee, and give, as the issue of Sir Robert Lee and Letitia Penystone, simply:—

1. Benedict Lee, of Bagginton, who married Margaret, daughter of Robert Packington, Esq., by Katharine, daughter and co-heiress of Lord Chief-Justice Baldwin, and had issue; and

2. Elizabeth Lee, “wife to —— Tresham, Esq.”

To render the differences intelligible—differences which appear in several Visitation Reports and Records, both at the College of Arms and the British Museum, it is necessary to give the descents for a few generations from Benedict Lee, of Quarrendon, the founder of the family in Bucks, as far down as that of Sir Henry Lee, the first Baronet, from the four independent original pedigrees, which have been used in the preparation of this article:—

Pedigree A.—LORD LITCHFIELD* :—

Benedict Lee=Elizabeth Wood.

Richard Lee=Anne Saunders.

Sir Robert Lee=Lettice Penyston.

Benedict Lee=Elizabeth Cheyne.

Sir Robert Lee=Lucy Pigott.

Sir Henry Lee, Bart.

Pedigree B.—NEVILL OF HOLT :—

Benedict Lee=Elizabeth Wood

Sir Robert Lee=Lettice Penyston.

Benedict Lee=Elizabeth Cheyne.

Sir Robert Lee=

Sir Henry Lee, Bart.

Pedigree C.—THORNTON OF BROCKHALL :—

Benedict Lee=Elizabeth Wood.

Richard Lee=Elizabeth Saunders.

Sir Robert Lee=Lettice Penyston.

Benedict Lee=Elizabeth Cheyne.

Benedict Lee=Margaret Packington.

Robert Lee=Lucy Pigott.

Sir Henry Lee, Bart.

* A certified copy of the Litchfield Pedigree, in the writer's possession, signed by the 3rd Earl, taken from the Howard Register of the College of Arms, pp.70, 71, makes Benedict brother of Sir Robert Lee.

Pedigree D.—LEE OF YORKSHIRE AND STOKENCHURCH :—

Benedict Lee=Elizabeth Wood.
 Richard Lee=Anne Sanders.
 Sir Robert Lee=Lettice Penystone.
 Benedict Lee=Elizabeth Cheyney.
 Sir Henry Lee, Bart.

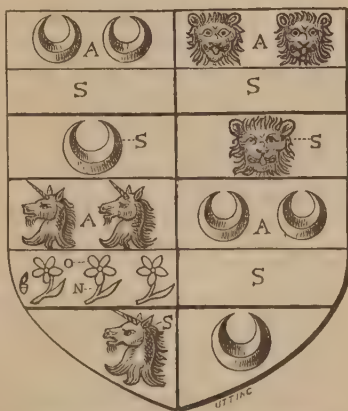
SIR ROBERT LEE, Knt., of Hulcott, was the eldest son of Benedict Lee, Esq., of Hulcott, by Elizabeth Cheyney. He was born at Helstrapp, in the parish of Drayton Beauchamp, co. Bucks, June 15th, 1545, and married Lucy, daughter of Thomas Pigott, or Pygot, of Beauchamp-ton, co. Bucks, and had issue eight sons and six daughters, viz. :—

1. Sir Henry Lee, Knt. and Bart., of Quarrendon, county Bucks, and Ditchley, county Oxon.

2. The Rev. Edward Lee, of Merton College, Oxford, Rector of Hardwick, Bucks, to which he was presented by his brother, Sir Henry Lee, and instituted 2nd March, 1610 ; died November, 1641 ; buried at Hardwick. He was a liberal benefactor to Merton College.

3. Benedict Lee.
4. Thomas Lee.
5. George Lee.
6. Robert Lee.

S^r Henry Lee



FROM COLE'S MSS., CAIUS COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE.

7. Richard Lee.*

8. Anthony Lee.

1, Frances; 2, Elizabeth; 3, Mary; 4, Margaret; 5, Joyce; and 6, Alice.

Sir Robert died at Stratford-Langton, in the county of Essex, and was buried at Hardwick, 20th August, 1616, aged 78. On the north side of the sanctuary, against the east wall, of St. Mary's, Hardwick, is a mural monument, with figures of Sir Robert and Lady Lee with their children, all represented kneeling.

The following inscription stands on the upper part:—

Nobilis Hic miles genere et virtutibus annos
Cum decies septem et tres numerasset obit :
Cui vitam ut renovet posuit castissima conjux
Hoc quicquid tumuli est sumptibus omne suis.
Sic vivit moriens : justorum vita perennis :
Non moritur quisquis vixerat ante Deo.

Mors ho'em ubique expectat, ubiq. etia' expectat ea' homo.

Ad vocem tubæ resurgent mortui.

Anima moritur per culpam, resurget per gratiam,

Corpus moritur per pœnam, resurget per gloriam.

And this on the part below:—

Here lyeth interr'd the Body of Sr. Robert Lee, Knt, Sonne & heire of Benedict Lee of Huccott, in the county of Bucks esq. who was second brother to Sir Robert Lee of Birdsthorpe. He was born at Helstrap in the Pish of Drayton Beauchamp, A°. Dni 1545, June 15th and married Dame Luce Piggott, Daughter to Thos. Pygot, of Beauchampton in y^e county of Buck^m. Esq. by whom he had issue viii Sonnes, viz :—Sir Henry Lee, Knt. and Baronett, Edward, Bennett, Thomas, George Robert, Richard, and Anthonie; and vi daughters, Frances, Elizab. Mary, Margaret, Joyce and Alice; when he had lived married 55 yeares he dep'ted this life in the faith of Jesus Christ at Stratford Langton in y^e county of Essex, and was buried at Hardwicke A°. Dni 1616, Aug. 20. ætatis 73.

This inscription goes far to prove, consequently, that Pedigrees B and C are right in making Benedict Lee, Sir Robert Lee's brother, and that Pedigrees A and D are wrong.

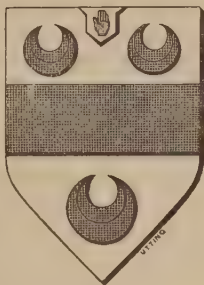
1. Mary Lee, daughter of Benedict Lee and Elizabeth Cheyne, married Sir George Tyrrell, Knt., of Thornton, co. Bucks. They had issue Edward, created a baronet 31st May, 1627.

2. Jane Lee.

SIR HENRY LEE, Knt. of Quarrendon, eldest son of

* This Richard Lee is the lineal and direct ancestor of the Lees of Virginia—of whom General Robert Lee, Confederate commander, is the present representative.

Robert, was created a Baronet by King James I., on the 22nd May, 1611. He married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Richard Wortley, of Wortley, co. York, Knt.,* died A.D. 1631, and was buried at Spelsbury, co. Oxon. The Patent of Baronetcy may be seen on the Patent Roll, 9 James I., part 45. In the year 1613 (10th of James I.) Sir Henry Lee served the office of High Sheriff of the county of Oxford, on account of his tenure of the manor and mansion of Ditchley, Dythchlea, or Ditchlee, besides his property at Charlbury, in the same county.† He was also Sheriff of Bucks in the year 1621. A MS. note



by Antony à Wood, runs thus:—"Spelsbury, 1675. On the north side of the chancel, close to the wall, is a faire table of a man and his wyfe lying at full length, and dyvers children kneeling at the head and the feet, to the memorie of Sir Henry Lee, who married Eleanor Wortley.‡ This Sir Henry Lee§ died 1633 (Qy.) But this Eleanor married thrice after his death, viz.: Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex; Rich, Earl of Warwicke; Montagu, Earl of Manchester." The monument referred to still remains at Spelsbury. From it we learn that this lady was the *fourth* daughter of Sir Richard Wortley, of Wortley, near which place some of the Lees had continually resided: and that by her her husband had three

* The ancestor of the present Lord Wharnccliffe of Yorkshire.

† There is a MS. paper at Dythchley, having reference to the entail of the property, which states that after Henry Lee, Esq. (who succeeded to the estates, and was created a baronet), the property was formally entailed, in default of issue, on his brothers George, Robert, and Thomas: then on Robert Lee, of Binfield, and last on John Lee. This paper, consisting of many sheets, is endorsed by the first baronet, about 1615, "Ye pleadings in the Exchequer for my Letters Patent of Quarrendon."

‡ An original portrait in oils of the Countess of Warwick (Dame Eleanor Lee), painted by a Dutch artist, belongs to the writer of this paper. It is somewhat damaged and disfigured.

§ There is a fine original portrait of Sir Henry Lee, by Cornelius Jansen, at Claydon House, the seat of Sir Harry Verney. The Lees and the Verneys were originally great allies. A corresponding portrait, by the same artist, of Sir Ralph Verney is also to be seen at Claydon.

sons, viz.: 1. Henry, who was knighted at Woodstock, 26th August, 1614 (who died unmarried); 2. Francis; and 3. Henry Anthony (who also died unmarried); and four daughters, 1. Bridget; 2. Anne; 3. Louisa (who died 1624); and 4. Elizabeth (who died 1629). *Vide* Spelsbury Register.

1. Bridget, married Sir Francis Tryon, of Essex, Bart.; 2. Anne, married Sir Maurice Berkeley, Viscount Fitzhardinge.

SIR FRANCIS LEE, second baronet, married* Anne, daughter of Sir John St. John,† of Lydiard Tregooze, co. Wilts, who survived her husband, and married secondly, Henry, Earl of Rochester. Sir Francis lived at Chelsea. He was buried at Spelsbury 23rd July, 1639, aged twenty-four years. They had issue two sons, Henry and Francis Henry, who, in turn, each succeeded to the baronetcy, and a daughter, Eleanor or Helena, who died in 1640.

SIR HENRY LEE, third Baronet, at the age of eighteen, married at Dytechley, 4th June, 1655, Anne,‡ daughter and eventual heiress of Sir John Danvers, of Dauntsey in Wiltshire, Cornbury, and Battersea. Sir Henry was M.P. for Malmesbury, in the Parliament that met 27th January, 1658-59. He was exactly twenty years of age at that time. He died in London, March, 1659. His will was proved 16th April, 1659. Buried at Spelsbury, 31st March, 1659. They had issue two daughters: 1. Eleanor Lee, baptized at Dytechley, 3rd June, 1658, married James Bertie, afterwards first Earl of Abingdon (so created 30th November, 1682), and died 31st May, 1691, leaving six sons. There is a good picture of her ladyship at Witham Abbey. 2. Anne, married Sir Thomas Wharton,§ afterwards fifth Lord Wharton. She

* Sir F. H. Lee's marriage settlements are dated 30th June, 1637, and their son and heir Henry was born on 21st November of the same year.

† According to an ancient Court Roll of the Manor of Spelsbury for the years 1532-33, it appears that a Sir John St. John, Knt., was the owner of lands and tenements in Dytechley. The name of "Walter St. John" occurs on several deeds.

‡ Lady Lee, wife of Sir Henry, was cousin of Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon. See Clarendon's *MS. Correspondence* in the Bodleian. The writer of this paper has some of her ladyship's original letters. She wrote a plain but quaint and stiff handwriting.

§ Mr. Thomas Wharton lived at Winchendon, in Bucks; he was one of the first to welcome King William III., and was afterwards made Lord-Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, although only a commoner at the time of his

died in October, 1685, s.p., at Adderbury, co. Oxon, and was buried at Waddesdon, co. Bucks, 10th November, 1685. Her portrait by Sir Peter Lely is engraved by Earlom.

SIR FRANCIS HENRY LEE, fourth Baronet, on succeeding to the title was not of age. He, like his brother, represented Malmesbury in Parliament. He married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Pope, Earl of Downe (by Lucy, daughter and co-heiress of John Dutton, of Sherborne, co. Gloucester, who married, secondly, Robert, third Earl of Lindsey), and had issue two sons: 1. Edward Henry, born 4th February, 1662; and Francis Henry, born 23rd April, 1665. Sir Francis, who is mentioned by Peter le Neve, Norroy, as one of the proposed Knights of the Order of the Oak, died at the age of twenty-nine.

(To be concluded in our next.)

THE SWAN OF BUCKINGHAM.

BY HENRY GOUGH, ESQ., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

“ the swan with arched neck
Between her white wings mantling . . . ”

MILTON.

As to the origin of the Swan of Buckingham—a symbol which for well-nigh five hundred years has been more or less associated with the county—there have been various theories. From the period of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford and Essex in the thirteenth century, its descent is traceable to modern times with little difficulty; but its previous history is somewhat uncertain and obscure.

In an interesting paper, lately read before our Society, it was alleged that the Swan of Buckingham is in some way connected with a wild German legend relating to the principality of Cleves. All the evidence, however, that can be adduced in support of such a theory is probably

appointment. In 1695 Mr. Wharton succeeded to the Peerage on the death of his father. He was created an Earl and Marquis in 1706, and two years later went to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, taking Addison with him as his secretary. The Marquis died in London 12th April, 1715, and was buried at Winchendon, co. Bucks, on the 22nd. The funeral procession was stopped on the road by a total eclipse of the sun.

the fact, that certain imaginative genealogists of former times pretended to trace the pedigrees of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, and the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford, from that fabulous personage, "the Knight of the Swan," the hero of a popular romance of the Middle Ages, and the reputed ancestor, not only of the house of Cleves, but also of the Counts of Boulogne.* Another claimant of the same mythical descent was Robert Tony, one of the warriors at Carlarverock in 1300.

"Blanche cote e blanches aletes,
Escu blanc, e baniere blanche,
Portoit, o la vermeille manche,
Robers de Tony, ki bien signe
Ke il est du chevalier au cigne."

"A white surcoat and white alettes,
A white shield, and a white banner,
Bore, with a red maunch,
Robert de Tony, who well evinces
That he is descended from the Knight of the Swan." †

Tony's seal, affixed to the celebrated letter of the Barons to the Pope, 1301, is surrounded by lions and swans alternately. Alice, his sister and heir, married Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (1298—1315); and hence that family had a double claim to the "invaluable distinction" of this unhistorical descent.‡

* "Carlarverock," by Nicolas, 369. "Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, caused to be translated from a French romance the legend of a king, named Oryant, who had seven children, each born with a chain of silver about the neck, and all turned into white swans, excepting one son, Helyas, the Knight of the Swan, from whom the Stafford family claimed to be lineally descended. . . . There is, besides, an old English poem on the same subject, in alliterative metre, entitled 'Chevalere de Cigne,' preserved in the Cotton Library."—(The late Rev. H. Roundell's lecture, entitled "Some Account of the Town of Buckingham," 1857, p. 9.) The French romance before named, containing the feats of Godfrey of Boulogne, and of his brothers Baudouin and Eustace, "issuing and descending from the illustrious line of the brave Knight of the Swan," was printed at Paris by or for Jehan Petit, 1504, in small folio. The English translation was made by Robert Copland, and first printed at the press of Wynkin de Worde, 1512, 4to. It was reprinted by William Copland, several years later, but without date.—(See Ames and Herbert's "Typographical Antiquities," by Dibdin, ii. 168, and iii. 152.)

† "Carlarverock," by Wright, 18.

‡ "Carlarverock," by Nicolas, 370. It was possibly in allusion to the same shadowy personage that knights of the Middle Ages were accustomed to make their vows of arms "before the swan," as Edward Prince of Wales did in 1306.—*Id.* See also Anstis, "Knighthood of the Bath," 23.

That very able herald, Mr. Planché, in a paper "On the Badges of the House of Lancaster,"* expresses an opinion that the cognizance which is the subject of this article originated as a rebus of the name of Sweyn.† This, in all probability, is the fact, as will presently appear; but, in reference to Mr. Planché's suggestion, that "the Mandevilles and the Nevils" (who, it is affirmed, both employed the swan as a badge or cognizance) "had a common ancestor in Adam Fitz Swanne," the writer of this paper ventures (with sincere respect and deference) to propound another theory.

Adam Fitz Swaine was a great Baron in the north of England in the time of Henry II., and founder of a Priory at Monk-Bretton, Yorkshire. He left two daughters and co-heirs—Maud, who married, first, Gerard de Glanville; secondly, Adam de Montbegon; thirdly, John de Malherb; and Annabel, who married Adam de Crevequer.‡ No descent, however, of either Mandeville or Nevill from either of these ladies appears to be recorded.

But that the swan was originally the rebus or device of a personage bearing the Danish name of Sweyn is, to say the least, not at all unlikely.§ Sweyn, King of Denmark, is called Swan by Robert of Gloucester, a rhyming chronicler of the thirteenth century:—

"Swan with his power to Engeland come:" ||

and Swanscombe, in Kent, is the place where he made his camp.

* "Journal of the Archæol. Assoc.," vi. 384.

† All who recognize the historical importance of genuine heraldry, and know how grievously truth in matters armorial and genealogical has been obscured by fiction, owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Planché (now Somerset herald) for his investigations. The writer is particularly indebted to Mr. Planché's courtesy and kindness for information on some points connected with this paper.

‡ Courthope, "Historic Peerage," 199.

§ It may be here observed that the swan has a distinguished place in Danish heraldry. The kings of Denmark have long quartered *G.*, a swan, with elevated wings, *A.*, beaked *S.*, gorged with a crown *O.*, for Stormerk, in Holstein. It is stated that in the hard winter of 1726 a swan was killed at Emsworth, between Chichester and Portsmouth, having a ring round its neck, with the King of Denmark's arms on it.—Hone's "Every Day Book," ii. 964.

|| Weever, "Fun. Mon.," 357.

Before the Norman Conquest, Rayleigh, in Essex, was the residence of Suene, a powerful chief, who, from his appellation, is thought to have been of Danish ancestry.* He readily joined the invaders, and, as a reward, was confirmed by the Conqueror in the possession of his lands. Thenceforth he was a Baron of the realm, and genealogists mention him as Swene de ESSEX.† It appears from Domesday Book that he held numerous lordships in Essex and other counties. There is great uncertainty as to his posterity (owing chiefly to confusion between different persons bearing similar names); but it seems most probable that he had, by his wife Gunnora, two sons, Henry and Robert;‡ and that the former died *vitâ patris*, leaving two daughters, his co-heirs—namely, Alianor, wife of Roger Fitz Richard, ancestor of the baronial family of Clavering, and Adeliza, or Alice, whom some regard as the wife of Aubrey de Vere, father of the first Earl of Oxford.§ Swene's son, Robert (founder of the Priory of Prittlewell ||), and his grandson, Henry, successively inherited his lands. The latter, in the third year of Henry II. (1156), was Sheriff of Buckingham and Bedford, and the King's Standard-bearer by inheritance. His unworthy conduct in the last-named office led to his disgrace, and the confiscation of his property. Being with the King in Wales, on a warlike expedition, he threw down the royal standard in the day of battle, and betook himself to flight; whereupon the English, apprehending that the King was slain, fell into confusion, and were completely routed. The recreant Standard-bearer

* He was son of Robert, son of Wimarc or Wynmarke.—“Mon. Angl.,” v. 21; Weever, “Fun. Mon.,” 603.

† Dugdale, “Baronage,” i. 463; Banks, “Dorm. and Ext. Baronage,” i. 72. He was, it seems, hereditary sheriff of the county.

‡ Banks, i. 73.

§ Some writers (Weever, Kimber, etc.) call these two ladies the daughters and co-heirs of Henry de Essex, the after-mentioned Standard-bearer; but this is clearly a mistake. Weever (referring to *Lib. Abb. de Colne*) calls the last-mentioned daughter Agnes or Adeliza, and erroneously styles her husband the first Earl of Oxford.—“Fun. Mon.,” 615. According to Dugdale, the wife of Aubrey de Vere, the first Earl's father, was Adeliza de Clare. According to Collins, she was Adeline de Yvery.

|| “Mon. Angl.,” v. 21. Dugdale does not mention him in his “Baronage.”

was charged with treason, vanquished in a solemn trial by battle, A.D. 1163, and shorn a monk at Reading.*

The belief that Swene de Essex may possibly have used the swan as a personal device, or, at least, that it may have been assumed in memory of him by some of his posterity not long afterwards, (though arms, properly so called, were not in use until about a century later,) seems to be fully justified by analogous examples in almost every age and nation.† And that Swene de Essex was subsequently regarded as having borne the swan, may probably be gathered from the fact that it was assumed for a crest by the Bouchiers, before they were entitled to the bearing (so far as appears) otherwise than by descent from the de Essex family.

Regarding the posterity of Henry de Essex, there are several statements, not altogether reconcilable. (1) That he left two sons, Henry and Hugh, who were both knights.‡ (2) That he had a son Hugh,§ whose son Henry was the father of Hugh and John.|| This last-named Hugh, who died about 1220, without issue male, left a daughter, Ann, who married Sir Thomas Prayers.¶ Their daughter and sole heir, Margaret, became the wife of Robert de Bouchier, Lord Chancellor of England in the reign of Edward III., and ancestor (through a younger

* Morant, "Hist. of Essex," ii. 611.

† Take, *e.g.*, the Roman surname *Corvinus*, and its reputed origin, coupled with the words of *Silius Italicus* :

"*Corvinus Phœbea sedet cui casside fulva,
Ostentans ales proavitæ insignia pugnæ.*"

The name *Horsa* (whether borne by an individual or not) has usually been associated with the old Saxon standard. The veneration in which white horses were held by the ancient Germans is mentioned by *Tacitus*, and their device of a white horse has descended to our own days in the ensign of Hanover, and also in that of Kent. Again, we have the wolf's head of *Hugh Lupus*, an ancient device, though probably not a contemporary one. The bear, in that well-known compound badge of the Earls of Warwick, the bear and ragged staff, has been ascribed to a supposed ancestor named *Arthgal* (*Brit. arth*, a bear), but it rather refers to their historical progenitor, *Urso de Abitot*, who lived in the Conqueror's time.

‡ Dugdale, "Baronage," i. 463.

§ Perhaps a younger son.

|| Visitation of Berks, 1623. MS. Harl., 1532, fo. 17 b.

¶ John Prayers. *Ib.*

son) of the Earls of Eu and Essex. The last-mentioned John is stated to have been the progenitor of the Essex family in Berkshire.* (3) That Henry de Essex, the Standard-bearer, left two daughters, his co-heirs; but this is evidently a mistake.†

There is likewise some confusion respecting the wife of Henry de Essex, the Standard-bearer. Dugdale's statement that she was Alice, or Adeliza, daughter of Aubrey de Vere, and sister (or niece) of Rohese, who was the wife of Geoffrey de Mandeville, and mother of William de Mandeville the first and second Earls of Essex, is probably correct; but when he adds, that after her first husband's death she married Roger Fitz Richard, it is most likely that he confounds her with Alianor de Essex, who has been already mentioned. Dugdale further says that "she lived to a great age, and was buried in Walden Monastery."‡

The name of MANDEVILLE was borne by two families successively. The male line of the first, three of whom were Earls of Essex, expired in 1190. After much disputation concerning their inheritance, it was at length confirmed to Geoffrey FITZ PIERS, whose wife, Beatrice de Say, was the heiress of the former family.§ In 1199 he was created Earl of Essex by King John. His sons Geoffrey and William, who in turn succeeded him, usually bore the name of Mandeville. The latter died, without issue, in 1227.

There could not, according to any one of the above-stated pedigrees, be the least pretence of heirship to the Essex family on the part of the Maudevilles, even if the Standard-bearer's lands had not been forfeited. But it seems not improbable that the Maudevilles (of the first

* Another statement is, that the Berkshire family was descended from Hugh, a brother of the Standard-bearer (Banks, "Baronage," i. 73). Sir William Essex, of this family, was created a Baronet in 1612, but the dignity expired with him. He and his son, who died before him, took an active part in the Great Rebellion.

† See p. 252, note §.

‡ "Baronage," i. 463. At p. 189, Rohese, wife of Geoffrey de Mandeville, is placed a generation higher in the family of Vere.

§ It is observable that the arms of Say, and those ascribed to the Mandevilles, are identical:—*Quarterly, O. and G.* Were they not originally borne by Say? Some of the later Maudevilles added a *border vair*. The subject needs further investigation.

or the second house) obtained some portion of the Essex lands by grant or otherwise, and that in consequence of such acquisition they assumed the swan as appurtenant to the property. It appears that Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Earl of Essex, held three knights' fees and upwards, of the honour of Rayleigh, about 1210.*

By whatever means the Mandevilles acquired the swan, the fact that they (at all events, the latter house) had it for their badge appears, to say the least, extremely probable.† The heir male of the later Mandevilles was John Fitz Piers, half brother of the last preceding Earl of Essex. From him were lineally descended the Barons Fitz John (1264—97), through whom the representation of the family passed to the Beauchamps and others, as will be mentioned ere we conclude this paper.

On the decease of the last William de Mandeville, the great estates known as the Honour of Essex devolved upon the family of BOHUN, Henry de Bohun, the first Earl of Hereford, having married Maud, sister and co-heir of the Earl last mentioned. Her son and heir, Humphrey de Bohun, was created Earl of Essex by King Henry III., and the dignity remained in his family until the death of Humphrey, seventh Earl of Hereford, sixth Earl of Essex, and second Earl of Northampton (of his race and surname), in 1372.‡

The white swan, usually, but not always, with closed wings, frequently occurs as the cognizance or "household badge"§ of this great and powerful family. Hitherto we have only presumptive evidence of its use; from this period downwards there are numerous actual examples.

A seal of Humphrey, fourth Earl of Hereford and

* Morant, "Hist. of Essex," i. 273.

† In MS. Lansd. 882 (Br. Mus.), at fo. 59, *G.*, a swan, close, *A.*, beaked and legged *O.*, gorged with a crown and chained of the last, is ascribed to Mandeville, Earl of Essex, as arms; but this is evidently a fignent of later times. The MS. is of the sixteenth century.

‡ By descent from Milo de Gloucester, created Earl of Hereford in 1140, the Bohuns were hereditary Lords High Constables of England. The chief line of the Bohuns bore *B.*, a bend *A.*, between two cotises and six lions rampant *O.*

§ "Might I but know thee by thy household badge."—Shakespeare, *Henry VI.*

third of Essex (1297-1322),* has, on the reverse, the Bohun shield, suspended by the guige or shield-belt from a swan, which stands upon its upper part;† whilst a small shield quarterly, with a trefoil, slipped, above it, is placed on each side of the principal escutcheon. This minor shield is that of the Mandevilles, and represents their earldom. Such an arrangement was frequently adopted on seals before the introduction of quartering. The trefoil was doubtless a badge of the Mandevilles.‡

In 1319, the same Earl bequeathed to his eldest son "an entire bed of green, powdered with white swans."§ Numerous other objects, similarly decorated, are mentioned in the wills and inventories of the family.||

The secretum, or minor seal, of Humphrey, the last Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton (1361-72), is described as having a shield (Bohun impaling Fitz Alan and Warren quarterly), supported by two swans.¶ Joan, his widow, used a seal of like design twenty years after his decease, the swans having elevated wings.**

A seal of Oliver de Bohoun†† (a cadet of the house of Hereford, who differenced his arms by the addition of three escallop shells upon the bend) exhibits three close swans; one above the shield, one on either side of it.

There is, then, sufficient evidence that the swan, both close and with expanded wings, was a customary badge or cognizance of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford and Essex.

The family of Bohun terminated in two heiresses,

* This seal has been frequently engraved, as in Dallaway's "Inquiries," pl. 22; and "Trans. of the Lond. and Midd. Archæol. Assoc.," i. 110.

† See the plate, fig. 1.

‡ In the arms of other families of the same name it occurs as a charge.

§ "Un lit entier de vert poudre de cynes blanches."—"Archæol. Journ.," ii. 341, 346. The will contains a legacy to a retainer named Robert Swan—probably a mere coincidence.

|| In Nichols's "Coll. of Wills," 1780. 4to.

¶ "Trans. of the Lond. and Midd. Archæol. Assoc.," i. 110.

** Charter of Joan, Countess of Essex, Hereford, and Northampton, 17 Ric. II., 1393—Add. Chart. 15,602, Br. Mus.

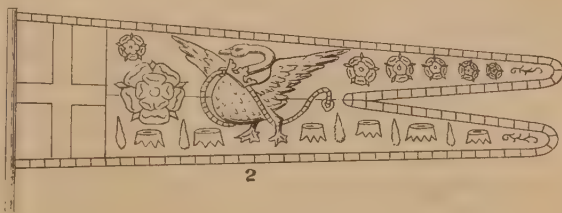
†† Engraved in the Rev. C. Boutell's "English Heraldry," p. 168. A roll, temp. Edward III., gives the arms of Sir Gilbert de Boun, as differenced with *three escallops G.*



1



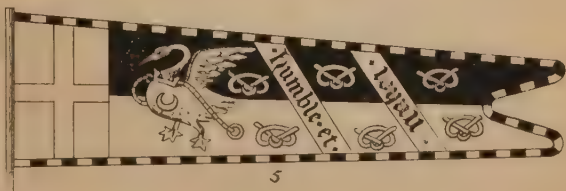
4



2



3



5

Alianor or Eleanor, wife of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, sixth son of King Edward III.; and Mary, wife of Henry of Lancaster, afterwards King Henry IV. The swan became the badge of both their husbands, and it has been supposed, with great probability, that they first added the golden coronet and chain.*

It will be convenient to consider first the Royal line of LANCASTER, though it represents the younger daughter. Mary de Bohun became the wife of Henry of Lancaster while he was Earl of Derby, and died in 1394. In September, 1397, Henry was created Duke of Hereford, a title evidently suggested by the Bohun earldom. He succeeded to his father's dukedom of Lancaster in February, 1398-9, and in the September following assumed the Crown.

A very curious slab, discovered a few years since at Venice, and thence brought to England, exhibits some heraldic insignia of Henry of Lancaster, singularly treated by a foreign artist. The main feature of this remarkable tablet is the Bohun swan, close, but gorged and chained. It has the helm and crest upon its head, and is accompanied by the collar of SS, and other badges of the Earl. He visited Venice during his pilgrimage of 1392.†

A standard, which was probably borne by Henry as Duke of Hereford, is represented in one of the Harleian MSS.‡ It has, as usual, the national ensign, St. George's cross, next to the staff, the remainder of the flag being parted per fess of the bearer's livery colours, white and blue. This parti-coloured field is charged with the Bohun swan (now with expanded wings, gorged with a coronet, and chained): in the upper part are six red roses; in the lower six golden stocks of trees, and five foxes' tails pendant proper—all badges of the House of Lancaster. The standard is edged with the livery colours.

* Heralds have sometimes called a swan so gorged and chained "a cygnet royal."

† This extraordinary memorial is figured in the "Archæologia," xxix. 387, where it is erroneously ascribed to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who died in exile at Venice in 1399. It is also engraved in Boutell's "Heraldry, Historical and Popular," 1864, opposite p. 258.

‡ It is copied in the accompanying plate, fig. 2, from MS. Harl., 4632, fo 238. A great number of badges, etc., from this MS. (which is of the former part of the sixteenth century), are described in "Coll. Top.," iii. 49.

At the memorable tournament between the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, held at Coventry on 16th September, 1398, and which resulted in the banishment of both, Hereford displayed the Bohun swan, together with his own badge, the antelope. "His charger," Sandford says, "was barded with green and blue velvet, richly embroidered with swans and antelopes of goldsmiths' work."*

A well-known symbol of King Henry IV., and the Royal House of Lancaster, was the collar of SS, which is generally considered to refer to Henry's motto, *Soverayne*. In one instance—that upon the sculptured effigy of the poet Gower at Southwark—the Bohun swan is added in a pendant.† The poet died in 1402.

Henry V. bore the white swan while Prince of Wales. His arms, as such, appear upon a seal, supported by two swans, close, gorged with coronets and chained; each of them holding in his beak an upright ostrich feather, the quill set in a scroll.‡

A standard of Henry V., "by the howse of Herforth" (*i.e.* Hereford), is represented in a MS. in the College of Arms.§ It has St. George's ensign next the staff; the parti-coloured residue, white and blue, is crossed obliquely by two bands, with the royal motto, *Dieu et mon droit*, and charged with a swan and ten roots of trees. The swan has expanded wings, a red beak, and black feet, and is gorged with a coronet and chained.||

Upon the chantry of Henry V. at Westminster, the swan, gorged with a crown and chained, appears, several times repeated, in union with his other cognizances, the antelope and the flaming beacon.¶ It does not seem to have been used by any of his brothers.

With Henry VI. and his son Edward, Prince of Wales, who both died by violence in 1471, the issue of

* "Genealogical Hist.," 266. The antelope and swan, both ducally gorged and chained, are sometimes mentioned as the supporters of Henry IV. (*e.g.* in MS. Harl., 4632, before cited), but for this arrangement there is no contemporary authority.

† The usual pendant is a jewel, or mere ornament. From the Yorkist collar, formed of suns and roses, the white lion of the house of March sometimes hangs.

‡ Sandford, "Gen. Hist.," 244 (plate), 277.

§ MS. I. 2., written between 1510 and 1525.

|| "Retros. Rev.," N.S. iii. 512. Bentley's "Excerpta Hist.," 61.

¶ Plate, fig. 3.

Mary de Bohun wholly failed. The King does not appear to have employed this cognizance; but Prince Edward's seal has an open swan, gorged with a coronet and chained, set above the shield.*

Eleanor de Bohun, the elder daughter of the last Earl of Hereford, was affianced, in 1374, to Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of King Edward III., and in consideration of this alliance, the young prince was, in 1376, appointed to the Bohun office of Constable of England. At the coronation of Richard II. (1377), he was created Earl of BUCKINGHAM, when the symbol which is the subject of this paper first became associated, at least nominally, with this county. Thomas of Woodstock used the swan as his ordinary badge or cognizance, and it is in allusion to this fact that Gower styles him "Cygnus"—

"O quam Fortuna stabilis non permanet una,
Exemplum cuius stat in ordine carminis hujus
Rex agit, et Cygnus patitur de corde benignus—"

and so forth through many Leonine verses.†

There are several examples of the Bohun swan, as borne by Thomas of Woodstock and his Duchess.

One of the Cotton MSS.—a register of benefactors to St. Alban's Abbey—contains an illuminated portrait of the Duke, holding in his right hand a kind of wreath or chaplet, with an open swan within it. This was a jewel—a circular monile—which he gave to the church in 1388.‡

His great seal has its ground diapered with lozenge-shaped compartments, which are filled with swans (close, but gorged and chained), and ostrich feathers in alternate rows.§

* Sandford, "Gen. Hist." 246 (plate), 307.

† "Chronica Tripartita," a poem on the deposition of King Richard II., erroneously cited as "Vox Clamantis," in Weever's "Fun. Mon.," 638 and 627. In this poem the Earl of Arundel is, in like manner, called "Equus," and the Earl of Warwick "Ursus." There is an anonymous English poem on the same subject, in which these three noblemen are denominated "the Swan," "the Hors," and "the Beere."—"Alliterative Poem on the Deposition of King Richard II.," etc., ed. by T. Wright, Esq., for the Camden Society, 56.

‡ "Monile aureum circulare, in cuius medio cignus albus, alis quasi ad volandum expansis, habetur." MS. Nero D. vii. fo. 110. The figure is engraved in Strutt's "Regal and Eccl. Antiq.," pl. 57.

§ Boutell, "Heraldry," 38, 258.

Another seal of his* has the swan (with expanded wings, gorged with a coronet and chained), standing upon the summit of his shield.

There is another seal of the same prince, on which the arms of Woodstock (*France ancient and England quarterly, within a border argent*) are suspended by the sinister corner from the stock of a tree, from which are also pendant two smaller upright shields of the arms of Milo de Gloucester, the first Earl of Hereford, viz.: two bends. The central shield is ensigned with helm and crest, while two close swans, upon the ground below, look towards the tree.†

On the Duke's minor seal or secretum, the swan appears between the bases of two shields, which contain the arms (1) of Woodstock, (2) of Woodstock impaling Bohun.‡

The seal of the Duchess Eleanor is of an unusual type. It has the representation of a boat, in which stands an angel holding an oblong panel, with the arms of Woodstock and Bohun impaled upon a lozenge, the triangular spaces at the corners of the panel containing (1 and 4) two bends, for Milo de Gloucester, (2 and 3) a swan. Two other swans, gorged with coronets and chained, stand, facing each other, on the prow and poop.§



The magnificent sepulchral brass of the Duchess Eleanor, who died in 1399 (two years after the murder of her husband), remains at Westminster, in the Chapel of St. Edmund.|| In this beautiful memorial, the swan, sometimes gorged and chained, sometimes not, generally with closed, but sometimes with open wings, is several times repeated. The design includes six armorial shields, one

* Engraved in Boutell's "Heraldry," opposite, p. 409. See our plate, fig. 4.

† Sandford, "Gen. Hist.," 125 (plate), 229. "Jo. Arch. Assoc.," vi. pl. xxx.

‡ The swan is similarly placed on the seal of Pleshy College, Essex, which was founded by the Duke and Duchess.

§ Sandford, "Gen. Hist.," 125 (plate), 229.

|| The writer desires to express his obligations to Mr. Boutell's elaborate paper on this brass, in "Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Association," i. 67.



*Arms of Humphrey Earl of Stafford. R.O. 1439.
from his Stall Plate at Windsor...*

of which, now unfortunately wanting, is described by Sandford and Dart, as *Gules, a swan argent, ducally gorged and chained or*. Sandford's plate* indicates that the wings were open. This device, though charged upon a shield, and placed in company with coats of arms, is no coat of arms itself, but the cognizance of the house of Bohun.†

With Humphrey, son of Thomas of Woodstock and the Duchess Eleanor (who did not bear his father's titles, except, perhaps, that of Buckingham) all the honours of the family expired in 1400. There were three daughters, but the only one of them who married was Anne, the eldest, who became the wife, first of Thomas Stafford, Earl of Stafford; secondly (in 1399) of Edmund, Earl of Stafford, his younger brother; thirdly, of William Bourchier, Earl of Eu, in Normandy.

Humphrey STAFFORD, sixth Earl of Stafford, son of the above-named Edmund and his wife, the Lady Anne of Gloucester, was created Duke of BUCKINGHAM in 1444, but fell in the battle of Northampton, 1460. Henry, the second Duke, was beheaded at Salisbury, 1483, and Edward, the third and last Duke, on Tower Hill, in 1521. Through his attainder, the family lost their ducal rank, and the great hereditary office of Lord High Constable of England, which had been confirmed to them as the representatives of the Bohuns.

Numerous examples of the use by the Stafford family of the Bohun swan might be recorded, but we must content ourselves at present with a few of them.

The Garter stall-plate of Humphrey Stafford, sixth Earl of Stafford, and subsequently first Duke of Buckingham, affords a very fine example of the swan used as a crest.‡ He was elected a companion of the Order in 1429.

* P. 232.

† Badges are occasionally found in shields, *e.g.* the ostrich feathers on the tomb of the Black Prince at Canterbury. The shield above mentioned may have led to that referred to in note †, p. 255.

‡ See the plate annexed. The arms are *O. a chevron G. : the crest, out of a coronet per pale S. and G. a swan rising A.* The mantle is black on the dexter side, red on the sinister, and wholly lined with ermine. The coronet, though apparently all red upon the Garter-plate, ought doubtless to be tinctured with the livery colours of the family. In order to find the origin of these, we must refer to their pedigree. The red is evidently from their own chevron; the black from the arms of Corbet (*O. a raven proper*), whose co-heir one of the Staffords married in the thirteenth century.

Edward Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, who died in 1499, was a grandson of the first Duke of Buckingham. The head of his monumental effigy, at Luffwick, or Lowick, in Northamptonshire, reposes on a helm with the swan crest.*

A standard which pertained to Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire (1509—23), second son of the second Duke,† is remarkable on account of the crescents, with which the swan‡ and the Stafford knots (an ancient badge of the family§) are differenced. As in the former examples of standards, we find St. George's cross next to the staff, and the remainder of the field parted of the livery colours, sable and gules. This standard has the usual addition of the motto, on two bands, crossing the flag transversely. The knots are white, the crescents red, the edging of the livery colours.

At the meeting of King Henry VIII. and the Emperor Maximilian, before Touraine, in 1513, Edward Duke of Buckingham appeared "in purple satin, his apparel and his bard full of antelopes and swans of fine gold bullion." ||

It was doubtless through the Dukes of Buckingham of the house of Stafford (who had great estates within the county) that the swan became so associated with the shire as to become its appropriate symbol, and especially the ensign of its chief town. The precise time when it was thus appropriated is uncertain, but the fact that the parted field in which it has constantly been represented consists of the livery colours of the house of Stafford, indicates that it must have been adopted during their ascendancy within the county. In the Visitation of 1566, we read: "These are the arms antiently belonging to the

* Gough, "Sep. Mon.," ii. 339.

† In Boutell's "English Heraldry," p. 260, there is another representation of this standard, with eleven knots, and some other non-essential variations. This is taken from MS. Coll. Arm. I. 2, before cited. Our representation (plate, fig. 5) is from a rough sketch in MS. Harl. 632, fo. 247.

‡ In the Heralds' MS. it is beaked gules and membered sable.

§ It is frequently repeated on the cornice of an apartment at Notley Abbey, Bucks, with the motto *Pleasant en lui*.

|| Willement, "Regal Heraldry," 29. In Roye's satire on Wolsey, ("Rede me and be not wrothe,") the proud Cardinal is styled—

" the red man,
whiche hathe devoured the beautifull swan."

town and borough of Buckingham.”* Drayton represents the militia of the county as mustered beneath the swan, at Southampton, in 1415, on their way to Agincourt:—

“To be embarked when every band comes down,
Each in their order as they mustered were,
Or by the difference of their armings known,
Or by their colours; for in ensign there
Some bear the arms of their most ancient town,
Others, again, their own devices have.”

The ensign of Buckingham is noticed thus:—

“The mustered men for Buckingham are gone
Under the swan, the arms of that old town.” †

There is no evidence that the device was thus appropriated quite so soon, though Humphrey Earl of Stafford was then styled Earl of Buckingham in his mother's right, and held the chief manor of the town. He was afterwards (as we have seen) Duke of Buckingham; and it is highly probable that the device was adopted during his lifetime, that is to say, before 1460. According to trickings in the Visitations of Buckinghamshire (1566, 1574, 1634 ‡) the insignia of the town of BUCKINGHAM are, *Party per pale, sable and gules, a swan, with expanded wings, argent, ducally gorged or*. They were so confirmed to the borough in 1566, by William Hervey, Clarenceux. The parted field consists, as already stated, of the livery colours of the house of Stafford. In a coloured drawing, attested by Richard Lee, Portcullis, 1574, § the swan is *beaked gules, and legged or*; but this is not material. Of late, a chain has usually been added, reflected over the swan's back; but for such an addition to the arms of the town of Buckingham



* MS. Harl. 3968, fo. 8 b. Ratification by W. Hervey, Clarenceux.

† “Battle of Agincourt.” Chalmers's “English Poets,” iv. 9.

‡ Thirteen MSS. of these Visitations have been consulted by the writer.

§ This drawing was exhibited by D. P. King, Esq., of Buckingham, in our Society's temporary museum at Newport-Pagnell, July, 1860, as was also a drawing not in colours, attested by John Philipott, Somerset, 1634. To Mr. King, and to Mr. John Harrison, jun., the writer is indebted for information on several points connected with the seals and arms of Buckingham.

there seems to be no sufficient authority. Engravings, dated 1714* and 1736,† show the coronet, but not the chain. So also does a shield over the tower entrance of the church of Buckingham, finished 1781; and in a stained glass window, of later date, recently removed from the same building, the swan was likewise chainless. The chain appears, however, in Speed's map of the county, 1610; in one MS. of the seventeenth century‡ which has been consulted; in the additions to Guillim's "Display," 1724; § in Browne Willis's description, 1755; || on a seal of the corporation, now disused, apparently of about the beginning of the last century; ¶ and on the corporation seal which has been in use since 1836.** In the more recent examples of these arms another error frequently occurs, namely, the transposition of the tinctures of the field.



The town of CHEPPING-WYCOMBE, in this county, has for arms a very similar device, namely (according to trickings in the Visitation books), *Sable, on a mount in base vert, a swan, close, ducally gorged, and with a chain reflected over the back, or.* Hervey, after reciting that the corporation had used these "for their ancient arms and common seal," confirmed them to the town in 1566. In later times we find the mount mistakenly omitted, as on the corporation seal now or

* Jackson's "Arms of all the Cities," etc.

† "Brit. Depicta, or Ogilby improv'd," by J. Owen.

‡ MS. Addit. (Br. Mus.), 9372, fo. 32.

§ App. 19.

|| "Hist. of Buckingham," 106.

¶ This seal is here copied from a cut on the title-page of the late Rev. H. Roundell's lecture, before mentioned. Hervey's confirmation is cited at p. 9, as of "a swan chained;" but this is an oversight.

** This is a copy of the seal previously used, but with a different legend. It is represented in Lewis's "Top. Dict." with tincture-lines, which are not upon the seal. Lipscomb's misrepresentation of the arms of Buckingham (ii. 502) is remarkable only for its extreme absurdity.

lately used, which appears to be of the seventeenth century.*

Henry, son and heir of the last preceding Duke of Buckingham, was raised to the dignity of Baron Stafford in 1547, by the unusual means of an Act of Parliament; but the barony became extinct, by the failure of heirs male, in 1640. Through the marriage of Mary Stafford, the last of her illustrious house, to Sir William Howard, K.B., the representation of the Bohuns devolved upon a branch of the family of Howard. Sir William and his wife were, in September, 1640, created Baron and Baroness Stafford. Two months afterwards the former was created Viscount Stafford; but he fell a victim, in 1680, to the perjury of Titus Oates. King James II. raised his widow to the rank of Countess, and made his son an Earl, in October, 1688. The family, thenceforth usually called STAFFORD-HOWARD, enjoyed the earldom of Stafford till 1762. These Earls bore for their secondary crest, *Out of a ducal coronet, per pale gules and sable, a swan, with elevated wings, issuant proper*: and for their sinister supporter a like swan, gorged with a like coronet.† The tinctures of the coronets are, it will be observed, the livery colours of the Staffords, but (no doubt inadvertently) transposed. The supporters, together with the arms of Woodstock, and eighteen cognizances which had been used by the Staffords, were granted or allowed to this family in 1720.‡ These devices are all represented (not very accurately) on the monumental tablet of John Paul, the last Earl of Stafford, in St. Edmund's Chapel, in the Abbey Church of Westminster.

The unjust attainder of William Viscount Stafford, who was beheaded in 1680, was reversed by Act of Parliament in 1824, when Sir George-William Jerningham, Bart., the heir in tail, became second Baron Stafford, under the patent of 1640. His Lordship assumed the additional name of Stafford in 1826. The Right Hon.

* Lewis, "Top. Dict." On this seal the swan is erroneously represented with expanded wings. Other errors are found, even in copies of the Visitations. One MS. represents the mount as standing in water; another has only water in the base of the escutcheon.

† "Notitia Anglicana." Lond., 1724, 8vo. pl. 75. Sometimes the swan is represented also as the dexter supporter, and as the only crest. Add. to Guillim's "Display," 1724.

‡ Collins, "Peerage," iii. 100: ed. 1756.

Henry-Valentine STAFFORD-JERNINGHAM, his son, is now third Baron Stafford, and, as the present heir general and representative of the illustrious houses of Bohun, Woodstock, and Stafford, the chief inheritor of the famous swan, which (as borne by the preceding Earls of Stafford) is his Lordship's sinister supporter.

The long association of the Bohun cognizance with the county of Buckingham, doubtless accounts in a great measure—(though we willingly admit that the Thames, the Ouse, the Colne, and other streams, may have had an equal influence)—for the frequent appearance of the Swan as a sign for inns within and near its boundaries. Twelve instances occur within the Newport Hundreds only. A sign familiar to the men of Buckingham as any household word, is thus traced, at least in many cases, certainly to the Earls of Essex in the thirteenth century, and probably to a far remoter origin.

It is not surprising that the traditionary swan has, in a slight degree, influenced the heraldry of Buckinghamshire, from the sixteenth century downwards. This will appear from the following examples* :—

TROUGHTON, of Great Linford. *Sable, on a chevron between three swans' heads erased argent, ducally gorged or, as many ogresses.* Granted 1566.

PERCIVAL, of Newport-Pagnell. *Fert, a saltire invecked erminois, between two pheons in pale or, and as many swans in fess argent; a chief of the second.* Granted 1745.

SWABEY, of Langley. *Gules, on a chevron engrailed or, between three swans argent, as many bees volant proper.* Crest: *On a wreath, a swan regardant argent, beaked and membered sable, wings elevated of the last, murally crowned gules, reposing his dexter foot on an escallop or.* Granted 1757.†

From the circumstance, often alluded to, of Edward III. having displayed "the wythe swan" in a hastilude at Canterbury, in 1348 or 49, it has been inferred, but it is conceived mistakenly, that the device in question was then one of the royal cognizances. It was, on that occasion, accompanied by a rhyming couplet, chiefly remarkable for its profanity. "This," says Mr. Planché, "has been considered by some writers as a challenge or defiance: on the contrary, it is an expresion of homage.

* From Berry's "Encyclop. Her."

† This is plainly a canting coat—*swa-bee*. Still it may allude also to the county.

'I am thy man' being the words always used in the performance of that act; and this motto was doubtless assumed by the king, in compliment to some queen of beauty, presiding or present at that tournament, whose cognizance was 'the white swan.'**

The swan, as borne by other families connected with those before mentioned, requires a passing notice.

The family of NEVILL (if, indeed, they ever bore the swan before their match with Beauchamp), may have derived it from the Essex family through the Claverings. Robert Fitz Roger, son and heir of Roger Fitz Richard and Alianor de Essex,† had a grant of the manor of Clavering (which had belonged to Swene de Essex), from King Henry II.; and Euphemia, daughter of Robert de Clavering, his lineal descendant, became the wife of Ralph de Nevill, first Baron by writ (1295—1331). This lady was not an heiress; yet it seems that the Nevill family obtained the manor of Clavering in consequence of her marriage, not by descent, but to the prejudice of the right heirs, the Claverings, and apparently through an arrangement sanctioned by the Crown.‡

The seal of Cecilia, Duchess of York, daughter of Ralph de Nevill, first Earl of Westmoreland, exhibits what appears to be a swan, displayed, bearing on its breast a shield of France and England§ impaling Nevill.|| This rather dubious instance is the only one that has been observed of the swan, as borne by any Nevill, before Richard, Earl of Warwick, styled the King-maker, who married the heiress of the Beauchamps, quartered their arms, and used their crest.

The great family of BEAUCHAMP may have claimed the swan by several different titles: (1) as themselves descended from the legendary Knight of the Swan; (2)

* "Jo. Arch. Assoc.," vi. 385. It may be worth notice here that the Black Prince, by his will, gave to the Church of Canterbury some tapestry having a red border, "ove cignes ove testez de dames"—with swans with ladies' heads; that is, as it seems, adorned with monsters resembling harpies.

† See p. 252.

‡ Dugdale, "Baronage," i. 109. Morant, "Hist. of Essex," ii. 611.

§ Without any mark of cadency, for the Duke was *de jure* King.

|| Sandford, "Gen. Hist.," 246 (plate), 371. Engraved also in Rowland's "Fam. of Nevill," 70; and in the "Journ. Archæol. Assoc.," vi. pl. xxxii.

as representing the Mandevilles ; (3) as representing the family of Tony, also descended from the mythic knight. The first and third of these claims have already been referred to : * the second must be briefly noticed here. William Beauchamp, first Earl of Warwick (1268-98), married Maud Fitz John, one of the four sisters and co-heirs of John Fitz John, who died in 1297, the last heir of the later Mandevilles. Hence in Rous's illuminated roll of the Earls of Warwick, † Guy de Beauchamp, second Earl, quarters (with other arms) two different coats of Mandeville. ‡ Whether the swan came to the Beauchamp family through this match with Fitz John, or through that with Tony, may be doubted. But since there is, as we have seen, positive evidence that the swan was borne by Tony, and only a strong probability that it was a badge of the Mandevilles, it may, perhaps, upon the whole, be thought most likely that the swan of Beauchamp came from the former—unless, indeed, it was derived from both. The Beauchamp crest was sometimes a swan's head proper, issuing from a golden coronet ; § at other times it was a whole swan issuing from a coronet, || as now borne by the Earl Brooke and Warwick, whose supporters, and the sinister supporter of the Earl Beauchamp, are also swans, gorged with crowns, with certain marks of difference. John, Lord Beauchamp of Warwick (1350—60), a younger brother of the third Earl of Warwick, dwelt in the parish of St. Andrew, London, in a house which afterwards became

* P. 250.

† In the College of Arms. See Dallaway's "Inquiries," pl. 5.

‡ (1) *Quarterly, O. and G.* (2) The same, *with a border vair.*

§ Stall-plate of Thomas, fourth Earl of Warwick, K.G., who died 1401. On a seal engraved in Rowland's "Fam. of Nevill," 70, the equestrian figure of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick (the King-maker) bears this crest.

|| Seal of the said Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, engraved, very badly, in Dallaway's "Inquiries," pl. 23 ; and, much more satisfactorily, in "The Visitation of the County of Huntingdon, 1613," ed. by Sir H. Ellis, for the Camden Society, p. 74. The swan does not (it is believed) appear in any form on the Beauchamp tombs at Warwick. It is seen both as a crest (out of a coronet), and as the support of the lady's head, on a Beauchamp monument at Worcester, said to be of the fourteenth century, and sometimes ascribed to John, Lord Beauchamp of Kidderminster. If the tomb be his, it carries the use of the swan by the Beauchamps above the match with Tony.

the Royal Wardrobe. An adjacent passage was lately named Swan Alley, and perhaps is so called still.*

The family of BOURCHIER seem to have claimed the swan in consequence of their descent from Swene of Essex, as before mentioned;† for Sir Hugh Stafford, who married Elizabeth Lady Bouchier, and was consequently summoned to Parliament as a Baron (1411), bore for his crest a swan, beaked gules, with expanded wings, issuing from a golden coronet;‡ and it does not appear that he could have obtained this crest otherwise than by his marriage, or that the Bouchiers could have obtained it otherwise than by descent from the family of Essex.§ Another branch, however, of the Bouchier family had an indubitable title to the cognizance through the marriage of William Bouchier, Earl of Eu, with the Lady Anne of Gloucester, widow of Edmund Earl of Stafford. The Bouchiers, in consequence of this high alliance obtained the dignity of Earls of Essex, which they held from 1461 to 1539.|| His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, K.G., is now their senior co-heir, and is thus entitled, in common with other noblemen and gentlemen of the same illustrious ancestry,¶ to quarter the arms of Thomas of Woodstock, and to claim an interest in his cognizance. To the cold utilitarian, the mere political economist, an historical heraldic bearing may be nothing, or a thing worthy only of contempt; but, to the true Englishman, whether gentle or simple, every such device is, when he understands it, a link connecting him with days of old, and with the founders of our most venerable institutions. Doubtless the members of our Archæological Society will readily acknowledge this, and

* The present co-heirs general of the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, as well as of Richard Nevill, the King-maker, are, as to one moiety, the Marquis of Hastings; as to the other, William Lowndes, of Chesham, and William Selby Lowndes, of Whaddon Hall, both in the county of Buckingham, Esquires.

† P. 253.

‡ Stall-plate, as K.G.

§ Sir Hugh Stafford's mother was a Beauchamp, but she was not an heiress.

|| And in consequence of the marriage of Sir John Devereux with Cicely, daughter and heir of Henry Bouchier, Earl of Essex, his son received the title of Viscount Hereford in 1550, and his grandson that of Earl of Essex, in 1572. The Devereux family quarter the princely arms of Woodstock.

¶ See Long's "Royal Descents." Lond., 1845, 4to.

will feel a special interest in the fact, that an hereditary claim to the swan of Mandeville, of Bohun, and of Woodstock, is, again, so remarkably associated with the honoured name of BUCKINGHAM.

MURAL PAINTINGS IN WHADDON CHURCH.

BY THE REV. C. LOWNDES, F.R.A.S.

In the church of Whaddon, dedicated to St. Mary, were discovered a few years ago some of those mural paintings which were universally delineated on the interior walls of our churches in olden times. Tracings of these frescoes were exhibited at the annual meeting of the Society, held at Addington Manor House in 1866, and in order to preserve a faithful record of the discovery, I have compiled a short account for the Society's publication. These paintings are of great interest, not only on account of their state, and the circumstance that they entirely owe their preservation to their being covered with limewash previous to the Reformation, but also because one of them is a representation of a most striking and memorable event in English history, viz., "the martyrdom," "the righteous execution," or "the murder," as it is variously styled, of Thomas à Becket, in Canterbury Cathedral, on Tuesday, the 29th of December, 1170.

Although Becket's biographers were many, and their statements of the event hopelessly irreconcilable, still the whole of the facts have been substantially preserved. The most impartial, as well as minute and accurate account, is in Robertson's "Biography of Becket," and in Stanley's "Memorials of Canterbury." The four knights who committed the sanguinary deed were William de Tracy, Reginald Fitz-Urse, Richard de Brito, and Hugh de Moreville. Being inflamed by the king's appeal, "Will no one deliver me from this low-bred priest?" they returned to England for the purpose of seizing the primate, and being further excited on landing and hearing of his violent proceedings on Christmas

Day, they hastened to Canterbury, and found him with his clergy in his private room. Admitted into his presence, they charged him with exciting disturbances and disobeying the king, and demanded that he should absolve the bishops whom he had excommunicated. Becket angrily replied that he could not. Threats were then used, when he rose and exclaimed, "You threaten me in vain." The knights then ordering his attendants not to allow him to escape, he replied, "I shall not escape." They hastened out to guard the entrance to the hall, and to cut off communication with the town. When they returned, they found the hall-door barred against them, and they endeavoured to force it open, but in vain. Robert de Broc, who was well acquainted with the palace, led them round by the orchard, and they succeeded in forcing an entrance through a window. In the meantime the monks, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, brought the archbishop, at the hour of vespers, into the church as a place of safety. They reached the lower north transept when it was announced that armed men were bursting into the monastery. All was in confusion. His attendants now fled, with the exception of four. The prelate, refusing to enter any hiding-place, was urged to go into the choir, and he was unwillingly hurried up one of the two flights of steps which led to it. At this moment the knights entered the transept, when one of them shouted out, "Where is Thomas à Becket, the traitor to the King?" No answer was returned. Fitz-Urse then exclaimed, "Where is the archbishop?" He instantly turned round, and confronting his enemies, replied, "Reginald, here I am; no traitor, but the archbishop and priest of God; what do you wish?" He descended again to the transept, and took up his station between the central pillar and the wall, which still forms the south-west corner of the chapel of St. Benedict. The knights gathered round him, and demanded the absolution of the excommunicated prelates. "I cannot do more than I have done," he replied. Fitz-Urse exclaimed, "You shall die; I will tear your heart out." "In the name of Christ," he replied, "and in defence of the Church, I am ready to die, but I forbid you, in the name of Almighty God, to hurt any of my religious clergy or people."

Tracy with his sword now aimed a blow at his head ; but his faithful attendant, Edward Grim, raised his arm to intercept it, but it descended on the prelate's head. The monk's arm was broken. Fitz-Urse then struck him on his bleeding head, when he raised his clasped hands, and wiping off the blood, exclaimed, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Tracy struck the third blow, which brought him on his knees. Richard de Brito gave a tremendous stroke, which severed the crown of the head from the skull, and the sword descended with such violence on the marble pavement that it was broken. His brains were then forced out, and scattered over the pavement by Hugh of Horsea, who exclaimed, "Let us go, he will rise no more." Thus fell Thomas à Becket, and that part of his cathedral in which he perished was walled off and called the *martyrdom*.

In the representation of this murder in Whaddon Church, the painting of Becket, with the exception of the feet, has been destroyed ; but the figures of the four warriors, with the several devices on their shields and surcoats, have been well preserved.

The foremost figure on the left hand, no doubt, represents William de Tracy, who is called the "Primus Percussor." The second is Reginald Fitz-Urse, whose shield is emblazoned with his well-known arms, the bear. The last figure on the right hand is unquestionably Hugh de Moreville, who was the only knight that struck no blow, but guarded the entrance of the transept, and who is always represented with his sword still in its scabbard, and his hand upon the hilt. The third figure will, therefore, be Richard de Brito, or De Bret. The painting is surrounded by a border, and may be ascribed to the time of Edward III. It was probably executed under the direction of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, whose hand is discernible in the alterations in the church, particularly the tower.

Three years after the murder of this beloved and popular martyr, the Pope authorized his invocation as a saint. He was regularly canonized, and the 29th of December was set apart as the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The scene of his martyrdom became a place of pilgrimage to all nations ; and the riches offered at his shrine were beyond all parallel. These offerings



LOWELL'S ANASTATIC PRESS, IPSWICH

The MURDER of THOMAS & BECKET

Mural painting in Whaddon Church. discovered in 1854



KING EDMUND



A BISHOP OR ABBOT

Mural painting in Whaddon Church. discovered in 1854

excited the jealousy and cupidity of Henry VIII., who, having destroyed his magnificent and gorgeous shrine, issued, on November 16, 1538, a proclamation for the destruction of all memorials of him. Numerous as were the paintings and statues in our ecclesiastical edifices, it is a matter of much surprise that not a single statue, and but very few paintings, escaped this order for their destruction. Among the few representations of the massacre that have been preserved in this country are the following, viz., a painting on a panel, now greatly defaced, at the head of the tomb of Henry IV., in Canterbury Cathedral; mural paintings in the churches of St. John, Winchester, discovered A.D. 1853, and which have been assigned to about 1280; Stoke D'Aubernoun, Surrey, discovered 1852; Brereton, Cheshire; the Holy Cross, Stratford-on-Avon, date 1498; Preston, Sussex; and Burlingham St. Edmunds, Eaton, Norfolk. In the British Museum is a MS. Reg. (known as Queen Mary's Psalter) 2 B. VII., and MS. Claud. D. 2, early part of the fourteenth cent., which contains a complete series of outline sketches in the lower margin of the pages illustrative of the events of his life. Also in Harleian MS. 5102, early thirteenth cent., is a representation at folio 22 of the death, and folio 17 of the burial of Becket.

Above the painting of the murder of Becket are portions of other figures, but they have been destroyed by the lowering of the side wall of the chancel. Below the painting of Becket are three skeletons, and a green tree, with a legend underneath, but illegible. There are also two paintings, one on each side, in the splay of the window in the south wall of the chancel. One represents King Edmund, and the other a bishop or abbot with his right hand in the attitude of benediction, and the left hand holding the pastoral staff. If this latter figure is intended for Thomas à Becket, the painting is not so elaborately executed as the representation of him in Stoke Charity Church, Hants, discovered in 1845, an account of which is given in the "Journal of the British Archaeological Association," vol. x., page 74. These two latter paintings have been much injured by children.

CHURCHES WHICH HAVE BEEN LATELY
BUILT OR RESTORED.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, AYLESBURY.—The external restoration of this church has been considerably advanced during the last twelve months. A small flat-headed, decorated window of peculiar character, in one of the vestries on the north side of the building, now used as the organ chamber, has been re-opened. But the most striking feature on the north side of the building is the new Decorated window at the end of the north transept, facing the visitor as he enters the south transept door. The arch and jambs of this window are indeed original; but the heavy Perpendicular tracery, which had been inserted in it without much regard to symmetry or proportion, is now replaced with Decorated tracery in thorough keeping with the ancient framework or setting. The whole of the tower is now faced with rubble stone, with quoins of Bath stone throughout; the effect of the staircase turret at the north-east angle being very good. The tower, which is of the thirteenth century, is surmounted with an ornamental parapet of wrought stone, with panelled battlements of Perpendicular character, making an elegant transition between the severe and simple Early English masonry below them, and the clock tower and spire above, of the seventeenth century. This turret and spire have been re-cased with lead, and the old clock faces have been replaced with ornamental dials of cast iron, painted in chocolate of different tints. The spire, which was deflected considerably to the south-east, has been set upright, and the timbers have been thoroughly repaired. It is worthy of notice that all these works have been executed by Aylesbury tradesmen: the stone-work by Mr. W. W. Thompson; the wood-work by Mr. Mayne; and the lead-work by Mr. Goss. The new clock dials were provided by Mr. Field, according to designs approved by Mr. Scott.

The interior of the Lady Chapel is now completed. The east window is filled with stained glass of good Decorated character—the work of Messrs. Burlison and Grylls. The three lights contain figures of Mary Magdalene, the Virgin Mary, and Mary the wife of Cleopas.

The central figure (that of the Virgin) was given by Mrs. Jordan, the remainder of the window by Archdeacon Bickersteth. The two side windows, executed by Messrs. Powell and Sons, are the offering of Mrs. Bickersteth. The piscina and sedilia are also reproduced, the stonework and carving being by the hand of Mr. Thompson.

The church of ASTON ABBOTS, dedicated to St. James, has been restored at a cost of about £1230, and was re-opened by the Lord Bishop of Oxford on May 22, 1866. G. E. Street, Esq., A.R.A., was the architect. The tower, which is the only part of the old church now standing, is of the fourteenth century; the remaining part of the building was of the eleventh. Aston Abbots was an endowed vicarage before the Reformation, and belonged to the abbots of St. Albans. The rectory and all rights belonging to it were afterwards granted to Lord John Russell, who was also lord of the manor. From the Bedford family it passed to the Earl of Chesterfield; from him to the Duke of Buckingham; and then to the present proprietor, the Right Hon. Lord Overstone. The tower has been thrown open, so as to show the west window. The seats are open, and of yellow deal, varnished. On the east of the low stone screen running across the chancel arch are two seats of oak, one of which is used as the reading-desk. The pulpit is well executed in Ancaster stone. The east window of the chancel, through the exertions of the Vicar among Sir J. C. Ross's relatives and friends, is in memory of Sir J. C. and Lady Ross. The window has been admirably executed by Mr. Miller, of Golden Square, London, at a cost of £70. The chancel is paved with Godwin's encaustic tiles, and a small vestry has been added. The building is of rough stone from the old church, in random courses, with Ancaster stone quoins and windows. The church furniture, consisting of altar cloth, hassocks, alms basins, font cover, clerk's desk, etc., have been presented by Mrs. Thornton and family, from the proceeds of private sales of their own work.

The church of LITTLE MARLOW was re-opened on September 15, 1866, after a restoration most successfully carried out under the directions of Mr. R. P. Pope, architect, of 8, King's Road, Gray's Inn. The restoration was most conservative; no portion of the fabric was altered, and

the mouldings, etc., were replaced after the existing models. A hideous gallery, and the usual inconvenient high square pews, were removed, and open benches substituted. The entire floor was relaid, with more costly tiles in the chancel. Two very elegant Early English windows in the chancel were carefully restored, and the removal of a plaster ceiling brought to light the original timbers of the roof. The displacing the west gallery brought into notice the fine western arch, which had been entirely obscured. The east window was filled with stained glass by Heaton Butler and Bayne, and a small organ was erected. Offerings were made of an altar cloth, altar candlesticks, and flower vases.

The fine old church of ST. MARY, EDLESBOROUGH was re-opened November 20, 1867, after a complete restoration of the interior, with the exception of the chancel, at a cost of some £2000. The architect, R. J. Withers, Esq., Doughty Street, London, has admirably preserved the original character of the building, which, fortunately, had suffered little from the ruthless hands of the eighteenth century beautifiers, though time had done its work.

The gallery has been removed, throwing in the massive tower of the belfry, and the west window, which had been partly bricked up. The original lancet shape is now renewed, and filled with stained glass by Ward and Hughes. The subject represents the Virgin and Child at Bethlehem; the church being dedicated to St. Mary. Sufficient of the old open seats remained to enable the new sittings to be made after the same design, and by clearing away the pews, nearly a hundred additional sittings have been gained. The windows are glazed with two tints, amber and green, diamond and square alternate. The walls of the church and tower, when stripped of their plaster, showed very massive masonry of Totternhoe stone. This has been pointed with excellent effect. The space above the arches being too full of rubble for pointing, the whole of the spandrels have been filled with frescoes by Messrs. Bell of London.

The Gothic pulpit, a drawing of which is shown in Lipscomb's "History of Bucks," with one of the few canopies remaining in England, now forms a great feature in the church. It is about fourteen feet in height, and all the carved work has been carefully restored by Ratter

and Kelt, of Cambridge. The pulpit now stands north of the rich screen, which has been beautifully decorated by Messrs. Bell with figures of cherubim in the span-drils. The vestry screen is new, and decorated by the same artists, and rich coloured glass closes up the arch.

A little window, found in the wall in the north aisle, has been opened and filled with stained glass. This appeared to have had some connection with a fire-place which was found in the wall, about ten feet from the ground, with the ashes and charred wood still remaining. The chancel belongs to Earl Brownlow. The restoration, which would complete the work, will make this one of the most noble churches in this county.

The church of Oving, which has been restored under the direction of Mr. G. E. Street, was reopened for divine service by the Lord Bishop of the diocese, December 13, 1867. The whole of the interior has been restored, a new vestry built on the north side, and new clerestory windows, three decorated and one quatrefoil, substituted for the old square ones. The church has been re-seated with open benches, and the aisles paved with four-inch quarries. The south and east walls of the chancel are entirely new, the old early English windows being retained. A new open stained roof has been added, and a handsome carved oak screen placed in the south arch. A very handsome reredos, in alabaster, with a super-altar and cross of Devonshire marble, has been placed in the east end, the walls at the side of the reredos being panelled with Ancaster stone bands and encaustic tiles. A new oak table and oak stalls and prayer-desks have been placed in the chancel, the floor of which has been paved with encaustic tiles. A handsome octagon pulpit of Ancaster stone has been placed in the north-east corner of the nave.

In the course of the restoration, several interesting features in the architecture of the church have been brought to light. A handsome arch on the north side, which had been bricked up, has been thrown open, and now forms the entrance to the vestry. Two ancient piscinas on the south side have also been opened.

The cost of the works has amounted to about £800. The restoration of the clerestory has been effected at the cost of the Rev. W. H. Young, the resident curate, and

members of his family ; the handsome altar-cloth is the gift of the Hon. Mrs. Caulfield Pratt, and the books are given by her sons and their tutor.

The church of LATIMER, which was erected, in 1841, by the munificence of the late Lord Chesham, has been enlarged and beautified at the cost of the present Lord Chesham, according to the designs of Mr. Gilbert Scott, and was reconsecrated December 21, 1867, by the Lord Bishop of Oxford. The improvements which have been recently effected consist in the addition of a north and south transept to the nave, an apse at the east end, and an addition to the length of the nave at the west end of about thirteen feet. A new vestry and organ-chamber have been added on the north side of the chancel and apse. The arches in the chancel and apse are Gothic, of an early date, of Bath stone, and the carving of the capitals (chiefly naturalistic) is remarkably beautiful, as is also that of the corbels supporting the roof. The chancel and the sanctuary formed by the apse are paved with encaustic tiles, and a credence-table and a stone sedile are placed on the north and south sides of the new altar-table. The stained-glass window, which formerly occupied the east end, has been removed to the south transept, and there are three new lancet windows, by Clayton and Bell, in the apse, to the memory of Charles, first Baron Chesham ; of Catherine, Lady Chesham ; and of the Hon. Algernon Cavendish, son of the present Lord Chesham, who died about two years ago. The chancel is fitted with new stalls, and the whole church with open seats of pitch-pine polished. The prayer-desk and lectern are the gift of the rector, the Rev. Bryant Burgess. A beautiful carpet for the floor within the communion rails has been worked by Lady Chesham and other ladies. The font has been removed to the west side of the south porch. The land required for the extension of the building, as well as a portion for the enlargement of the churchyard, has been given by Lord Chesham. Since the reconsecration of the church, two additional windows, by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, have been inserted on the south side of the apse and chancel.

The new chapel of ease at WESTCOT, called the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, and erected by the liberality of the Duke of Buckingham, after designs by Mr. G. E. Street,

was consecrated on December 23, 1867, by the Lord Bishop of Oxford. The foundation-stone was laid by the Duchess of Buckingham. The leading character of the architecture of the church is Early English; it consists of a nave, two aisles, chancel, and south porch. The east window consists of a triple lancet, with a wheel light above, and the west window a triple lancet with three circular lights. The side windows of the chancel are in the Early Decorated style; the stained glass in the east and west windows has a remarkably chaste and pleasing appearance; the other windows are filled with cathedral glass. A dormer window in the roof on the south side of the nave gives a good light to the whole of the interior, and a very small bell turret in the centre of the roof of the nave carries a single bell. The exterior walls are of the blue local stone (from Blackthorne), with Ancaster stone dressings. A handsome cross surmounts each end of the nave and the east end of the chancel. The arches, corbels, and indeed the whole of the building, are totally devoid of any ornamentation. The shafts of the pillars are circular, the capitals being square, without any moulding. The roof is open, of stained deal. The chancel is paved with encaustic tiles, and a handsome credence is placed on the north side. The pulpit, which is octagonal, in Ancaster stone, is placed at the extreme north-east corner of the nave. The font is also octagonal, each side being semi-circular; the shaft is circular, with dog-tooth ornament; it is placed on the west side of the porch. The prayer-desk and stalls in the chancel are of English oak, and the open seats in the nave and aisles of stained deal. About an acre of land around the church has been appropriated as a burial-ground for the hamlets of Westcott and Woodham. The total cost of this act of liberality on the part of the Duke of Buckingham amounts to about £1500.

The ancient church of GRENDON UNDERWOOD was reopened by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, January 18, 1868. The church consists of a nave, chancel, and western tower. Its date is the latter half of the thirteenth century, except the tower, which was built in the fifteenth century. At this period it would appear that the walls of the nave were raised, the present roof put on, and several windows inserted in the walls. About two centuries ago a waggon-

headed roof was put on the chancel, and a broad flat-headed window inserted in the eastern wall. Subsequently the waggon-headed roof was plastered to the form of half an ellipse, severed through its longest axis. Fortunately the builders of this latter period left sufficient evidence of its former state to enable the architect (Mr. E. G. Bruton) to ascertain the dimensions and period of the destroyed eastern window, and sufficient remains of the glass to serve as a guide to a faithful restoration of the original design. The stones of the walls of the chancel have been repointed with black mortar where possible, and where this could not be done the walls have been newly plastered. A very handsome five-light window, with centre-quatrefoil wheel above, has been placed in the east end. The stained glass, by Clayton and Bell, is in harmony with the other chancel windows and with what can be traced of the old window, and the old glass has been inserted as far as possible to prove the faithfulness of the restoration. The floor is paved with tessellated and encaustic tiles, and the stalls, altar-table, and the whole of the fittings are new. An open-timbered roof has been thrown over the chancel. The chancel arch has also been restored. The roof of the nave has been repaired, and new mullions have been inserted in all the windows. The pulpit (which is Jacobean) has been placed on a new pedestal of Bath stone, and also the old font. An ancient piscina has been removed from the south side to the north-west corner of the nave. A handsome new lectern has also been provided, and the nave is filled with open oak benches.

The church of ST. MARY, BLETCHLEY, was re-opened on May 19, 1868, by the Lord Bishop of Oxford. The work which has just been completed derives a special interest from the fact that the last restoration of Bletchley church was carried out by the devoted antiquarian Browne Willis, who was Lord of the Manor about A.D. 1720, although his chief affection seems to have been bestowed on the chapel at Fenny Stratford, built by himself. The church, which is in some parts of as early a date as the eleventh century, consists of a large chancel, with chancel aisle forming a chantry of the Grey de Wilton family; a clerestoried nave, with flat oak roof, and two aisles of four bays each; a fine western tower,

and an Early English porch, leading to a fine Norman doorway, which is the earliest portion of the building. There is an effigy, well sculptured in white marble, on a mutilated stone altar tomb, probably of the founder of the chantry; and in the north wall was discovered part of an arched monumental recess, now opened. The whole of the exterior has been restored in Ancaster and Bath stone. The whole of the interior has also been thoroughly restored. The most conspicuous alteration is in the chancel. The windows and doorway, which had been modernized and misplaced, have been altered so as to harmonize with the original character of the building. In the east end is a five-light traceried window, with trefoils and quatrefoils in the head. The door leading into the vestry on the north side, close to the east wall, which had been blocked up, has been opened. The eastern portion of the De Wilton aisle must have been used as a vestry, originally connected with the chancel by this doorway. There are four early sedilia on the south side, two of which had been destroyed. There are also several small recesses partly blocked. A small but interesting mural brass is fixed against the north wall. Externally on the east parapet of the De Wilton aisle, is the representation of a chalice incised in the stone. A few remains of ancient stained glass are preserved with the view to replacing them, making up the deficiency with new glass to some of the windows. The south windows of the south aisle have been renewed, and the string replaced beneath them. Over the communion-table is a reredos, which, considered simply as a work of art, may be pronounced one of the finest in this part of the country. It consists of a canopied centre panel, surmounted by a floreated cross, and two narrow side panels of Painswick stone, with carved caps and bases, and Mansfield red shafts. In front is a detached cross of Mansfield stone, richly carved, backed by a painting of radiated nimbus in the centre panel, the side panels being diapered, with an angel in the centre beneath the cusping. The chancel is fitted with return stalls of carved oak; the altar-rails are of oak, fitted with ornamental iron-work. The curious ceiling of the chancel, representing the twelve Apostles, has been preserved, partly in deference to the memory of Browne Willis, and partly

on financial grounds. A very handsome altar-cloth has been worked and presented to the church by Mrs. Williamson, the wife of the Rev. T. P. Williamson, Little Brickhill. An interesting old clerestory has been opened out on the south side. The roof of the north aisle, which is of the fourteenth century, consisting of large arched braces, supported on carved stone corbels, has been repaired. The body of the church has been fitted with oak seats, and a paving of wood blocks under the seats; the other portions of the floor being covered with Minton's tiles and the old paving. The pulpit, the gift of the rector, the Rev. W. Bennitt, which is on the south side, is octagonal—the panels containing beautifully sculptured figures of our Lord and the four Evangelists, and resting on a shaft, with moulded capital and base. The fine old tower had fallen into a state of dilapidation which was almost dangerous. The “four handsome pinnacles at the angles,” commemorated by Lipscomb, have been removed, as out of character with the rest of the building. The belfry windows and parapets have been almost entirely renewed. One of the old bells—a fine peal of eight, which for richness of tone are second to none in the county—has been re-cast.

The whole of the work has been carried out under the superintendence of the architect, Mr. W. White, F.S.A., of Wimpole Street, by the contractor, Mr. Kimberley, of Banbury, and the carving has been executed by Mr. S. Allen, of Luard Street, Caledonian Road.

A very fine organ, designed by the Rev. W. G. Corker, of Fenny Stratford, and built by Mr. T. Atherton, Leighton Buzzard, has been placed in the north aisle.

To be continued.

SUBSTANCE OF A LECTURE DELIVERED BY THE
VEN. ARCHDEACON BICKERSTETH, D.D., ON
GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE,

AT LINSLADE, FEB. 29, 1864.

The ARCHDEACON said—I assure you it has given me great pleasure to come here to endeavour to give you such few thoughts as I may be able to offer in the course of an hour, on the subject of Gothic Architecture. It is one which concerns us all as churchmen. I might say it has a national interest to us; for we can go nowhere in this favoured land of ours, and not meet with examples of different periods in the history of this great and interesting science. To myself, personally, the subject possesses a special interest; for an Archdeacon ought, surely, to know something of the principles of this science, that he may be able to exercise a wholesome check on the barbarisms which might be perpetrated, if there were no controlling influence to guide zeal in the right direction, and to restrain sciolists from exhibiting their ignorance in dealing with our glorious national fabrics.

It is best, in treating of any matter, to begin at the beginning; and if I say anything which is perfectly familiar to those who have had the opportunity of studying the subject, I hope they will pardon me, since my wish is to make this lecture so clear as to be capable of being understood by the youngest and least informed. To begin, then, at the foundation, we must go to ancient Rome for our starting point in Christian architecture. I believe it is now an acknowledged fact that the models of the first buildings erected for Christian worship were the Roman Basilicas. The Basilica was a large edifice to be found in all the important Roman cities; it was the place where justice was administered, and matters of commerce were transacted. It was an oblong building, divided into three parts by rows of columns, and thus forming, I might venture to say, the nave and aisles in embryo. At one end of the building was what, in the church, is represented by the apse, where, in ancient times, the Prætor sat

to administer justice, attended by the lictors and other Roman officers. Here, too, was the altar, on which sacrifice was offered before entering on any important business. The Basilica was, in fact, the type and model on which the earliest Christian churches were founded. I need not remind you that, in the first ages of Christianity, the Christians, in days of cruel persecution, could have no buildings in which to worship. They worshipped in the catacombs, and in other secret places, wherever they might; but when persecution ceased, they began at once to raise suitable temples for the worship of God. Some persons have attempted to ground on this what seems to me a very futile argument—that because, in those dreary times, Christians worshipped where and as they could, therefore God is better pleased to be worshipped in a mean and paltry structure, than in one which is elevating to our spirits, and befitting the place where His Honour dwells. But, at all events, we find that, when Constantine gave his powerful hand to aid the cause of Christianity, then sumptuous and spacious edifices began to rise everywhere; and the first model after which they were designed was the Basilica. There are still extant the remains of two interesting buildings of this kind—the Basilica of Trajan, and that of Maxentius. There are also remains of a Basilica at Pompeii, and there is one at Treves, which to this day is used as a Christian church. The next step was to throw out from this oblong building what we now call transepts, at right angles to the nave. According to the nature of the extension, this would constitute a cruciform church, either of the Latin or the Greek form. If the transepts were equal in length to the chancel and the nave, it assumed the Greek form; if the nave was longer than the transepts, then it formed a Latin cross.

This being the origin of Christian temples, we have so far cleared our way towards an enquiry into the character of the first Christian churches in this our own island. We have little, if any, information with regard to the buildings in which Christians worshipped during the time of the Roman occupation. That there were Christians in this country during that period there can be no doubt whatever; but the buildings where they worshipped can scarcely be said to exist. There are few, if any, Roman remains of Christian edifices to be found in this land.

Probably when the Saxon invasion took place, whatever buildings there were of this kind were swept away by the ruthless hands of the invaders. The question then arises next: Where are the Saxon buildings? Are there any Christian temples of the Saxon period? There has been a great deal of learned investigation on this point, but it is now generally admitted that there are *some* Saxon remains. Probably the greater number of Saxon churches were wooden. This island was at that period very much covered with woodland, and wood furnished the most readily accessible material for all buildings. The old Saxon terms seem to imply this: the expression signifying to build a house is *getymberen*; and our word *beetle*, or *bytel*, is derived from *bylidan*, to build. Besides, there are records showing that, as a matter of fact, most of the churches were of wood; at the same time, where building-stone prevailed, particularly in the latter portion of the Saxon period, we find that stone was used. (The lecturer here exhibited a number of views of various Saxon churches, from the time of Edward the Confessor, including those of Bradford in Wilts, Stow in Lincolnshire, Deerhurst in Gloucestershire; and pointed out the early development of the pointed arch, the first form being simply two slabs or stones placed obliquely against one another. For the loan of these valuable drawings the Archdeacon expressed his obligation to Mr. Parker, of Oxford.)

Coming down, then to the time of Edward the Confessor, we find very few remains of Saxon buildings. But I may mention that there are in the county of Buckingham two or three undoubted examples of Saxon still existing. Such instances may be seen in Wing church, in the church of Caversfield, near Bicester, and in that of Iver, in the south of the county. But as time advanced, a new spirit seems to have come over the church builders in this country. Before the Norman conquest (A.D. 1066) there were edifices of a decidedly Norman character. No doubt the intercourse which began to take place between this country and the Continent was not without its influence on the buildings of the period. I should have mentioned, when speaking of the Basilica, that the roof was semicircular, like the barrel of an ordinary drain; and there are in Ireland several buildings, called Oratories, well known to anti-

quaries, having this circular roof, with the stones set as the voussoirs in an arch, with the keystone. In our groined roofs in this country at a later period we usually placed a roof over the stone to protect it from the weather; but in these older buildings the stone roof itself formed the outer covering, being merely cemented over to keep out the wet. These oratories may be suggestive as to the source from whence Ireland derived its Christianity.

At the period of the Norman Conquest, we find that there were several Norman cathedrals existing in this country; but it is remarkable that soon after the Conquest most of the old Norman cathedrals were re-built. As we enter on the twelfth century, we find the work of church building going on at an extraordinary rate. It is an interesting fact that as soon as the first thousand years of Christianity were completed, there seems to have been a remarkable impulse given to church building, which is to be accounted for in this way. There was a prevailing notion among Christian people that the world would come to an end at the close of the first thousand years after Christ, and that, therefore, it was superfluous to bestow much pains or attention on buildings. But as soon as the Millennium panic, so to speak, had passed away, churchmen took courage, and building began to go on at a gigantic pace; and so it comes to pass that it is to this period that we are indebted for many of the most beautiful naves in our fine old cathedrals. I do not know whether most present are acquainted with the general characteristics of a Norman building. If not, you have only to go to the little village of Stewkley. I remember making a pilgrimage out of Shropshire to see that church—long before I had the least idea that I should ever have any official connection with this county—as an interesting specimen of a Norman church. You will observe in the Norman architecture the heavy capitals, the general solidity and massiveness of the whole structure. Certain ornaments are very freely used; the zig-zag moulding, the billet-moulding, and, not indeed the dog-tooth moulding, but that which became the dog-tooth of a later time. I must beg you to fix firmly in your memories the successive phases of our architecture. The Norman, we have seen, prevailed chiefly in the twelfth century; the Early English in the thirteenth; the Deco-

rated in the fourteenth ; the Perpendicular in the fifteenth. But it should be remembered that the last quarter of each century was a period of transition to the next stage. In Norman architecture, though, generally speaking, we find the circular arch, this is not an invariable rule ; there are buildings of the Norman period which exhibit the pointed arch. At Fountain's Abbey, in Yorkshire, which is unquestionably Norman, we find the pointed arch. This leads to a most interesting question, the origin of the pointed arch. Some persons have thought that it was formed from observation of the natural interlacing of the boughs in an avenue of trees. Others, again, have supposed that it was formed by the intersection of two semi-circular arches. This, however, is involved in doubt, and we can only admire the beauty of the pointed style.

In the course of the twelfth century, the Norman period, very considerable changes took place in the mode of structure. In the latter part of the century the work was, generally speaking, far better executed than at an earlier period. There is a remarkable illustration of this in Canterbury Cathedral. Happily for us, the records of that cathedral exist, so that we know almost to a day at what time each portion of the building was completed. The greater part of the first Norman Cathedral was burnt down, and the second was finished some fifty years afterwards, A.D. 1180. The old ornaments are very rough and coarse, but those in the other part much finer. We know as a fact that the earlier ones were wrought, not with the chisel, but with the axe. Another interesting circumstance is this : it is only at a later period of the style that the builders seem to have learnt to employ machines to lift the great stones. The stones in the earlier period appear to have been such as a man could carry up to their place on his shoulder ; but those of the later period must have been wound up by machinery—showing considerable progress in the mechanical part of the work. It is rather the fashion to underrate Norman architecture, and even Mr. Hallam, in his "History of the Middle Ages," as I venture to think, too much depreciates it. Of this, however, I am very sure, that it was out of Norman architecture that our beautiful Early English was evolved, just as many of our noblest

works, moral and intellectual, sprang out of the stern strength of our old Saxon ancestry.

We come next to the Early English period. The pointed arch, which had already been invented, became the great feature of this style. We find three different kinds of pointed arch—the lancet, the equilateral, and the drop arch—formed respectively on an acute angle, the angle of an equilateral triangle, and an obtuse angle. But there are many other interesting characteristics in the Early English period. In the windows, we find shafts, standing out from the jambs of the windows. Wherever you see a triple lancet window—the middle light perhaps a little above the others, and the shafts standing out from the jambs of the arch, that is unmistakeably Early English in its character. Besides this, there is another thing which it is desirable to understand—the peculiar character of the mouldings, which may often as certainly lead you to the date of the building as any historical record. You may notice the great depth of the mouldings, and the little fillet on the rounded portion, which mark the period certainly as somewhere in the thirteenth century. If you wish to see a good specimen of Early English moulding, you can hardly find one more interesting than the doorway in the south porch of Aylesbury church—you will there see such a wealth and depth of moulding, producing its beautiful results of light and shade, as is seldom to be found in an ordinary parish church. There is the deep hollow, the rounded outline, and the little fillet in the centre; and such as these are the crucial evidence, by which persons acquainted with the subject know directly where they are.

We now arrive at the Decorated period, which prevailed through the fourteenth century, the time of the three first Edwards. I hardly know whether to give the preference to the Early English or the Decorated. There is something so exceedingly beautiful in the Early English, especially in its transitional period, that I will only say this; in the one we have our Gothic architecture in the bud, while in the Decorated we have it in its full blossom and perfection, leaving it to your own taste or fancy to settle the comparative merits of the blossom and the bud. There is a marked difference in the win-

dows of the two periods. In the Early English we have splay windows, with pointed arches—either the lancet, the equilateral, or the drop arch—sometimes, but very rarely, cusped. But when we come to the Decorated period we find the cusped arch prevailing largely, and we find also what is called geometrical tracery. The upper portion of the window, from the point where the spring of the arch begins, is filled with different combinations of geometrical forms. There is also a very great difference in the mouldings of the Decorated period. We saw that the chief features of the Early English moulding were the deep round hollow and rounded projections, with the fillet on the top. But in the Decorated we get a totally new form of curve, the ogee moulding—consisting of a concave and a convex line. This is frequently found in the Decorated, seldom if ever in the Early English. We sometimes see in the modern imitations of Early English churches this kind of curve inserted; but we may in such cases settle it in our minds that the designer did not accurately know his profession. Another interesting feature in Decorated architecture is the introduction of ornament into the hollows of these mouldings. There is the ball-flower, rarely, if ever, found in Early English, and the four-leaved flower. These are placed in the hollows, sometimes with extraordinary profusion, and give a great richness to the whole. Another feature of the Decorated style is, that whereas in the Early English the shaft stands out distinct from the wall, in the Decorated the shaft begins to retreat into the jamb. Another interesting characteristic of the Decorated period is what is called a hood moulding, over the architrave of a window, giving very great richness to the whole.

We come, in the fifteenth century, to the fourth great division,—the Perpendicular, which takes its name from what has been rightly styled the “perpendicularity” of the whole of the details of the architecture of this period. In the Decorated we noticed the flowing character of the tracery, which is based on some geometrical figures; but if you look at a Perpendicular window, the mullions run straight up to the architrave. This is by no means the only difference: there is also a vast difference in the moulding. In the Perpendicular period you have no longer the depth of light and shade: the mouldings

become wider and more shallow. There is less room for ornament: the whole becomes thin and shallow as compared with the earlier periods. I do not think a better name than Perpendicular could possibly have been chosen; the windows often seem nothing more than panels knocked out to let in the light. Not that there is not a great deal of ornament in the Perpendicular period. In some parts of England it is so overlaid with ornament, that the proportions are destroyed. Hence it has been termed the Florid Gothic, which is the same as Perpendicular. It is a principle quite worthy of the attention of every one interested in drawing—and, indeed in every study that engages your attention—first get your outline right, and the details will take care of themselves. There is nothing I have admired more in travelling through Scotland than the great boldness of outline in some of the old Scottish cathedrals. There is little or no ornament; they are built of granite which will not easily admit of the finer touches of the chisel. But you are impressed with the idea that they who designed these cathedrals knew perfectly well what they were about. The great mind looks to the outline, gets that clearly, and the detail takes care of itself. The little mind runs into details, and forgets the outline, and the result is a spoiled and foolish affair. It is surprising what mistakes are made for want of due consideration of outline. A man sees a beautiful window, and he says, "I should like that to be put into my church." He gets a drawing, and puts this window into some little structure where it looks like an oak in a flower-pot: it is not the right thing in the right place, because, in order to adapt it to its new position, every single line ought to have been drawn again, and the whole window reduced, in fact, to its proper proportions.

I have endeavoured to give you a very sketchy outline of the progress of Gothic architecture, brought down to the close of the fifteenth century, and the beginning of the sixteenth. After that I cannot point to much that is worthy of our admiration. There is certainly in the Debased style, which begins to manifest itself at this time, a boldness of outline; but you feel that the spirit and elegance of the science are passing away. If I may revert again to my own church, you have a fine specimen

of the Debased period in the west window of Aylesbury Church. The term Debased expresses exactly what it is : it looks as if some immense weight had been put on the top and pressed it down. It is a four-centred arch, struck from four centres, and gives a flatness to the whole thing, which spoils it as a work of beauty. You will at once see what I mean, if you stand in front of this window, and allow your eye to bisect it vertically. You will then perceive that it is lop-sided. I do not mean to say there are not some beautiful buildings erected early in the sixteenth century. Certainly some of that period, and even of the Jacobean, are worthy of imitation ; but we feel that we have passed out of the range of the highest art so far as Christian buildings are concerned. Attempts were made from time to time to revive Gothic architecture, but with little success. Even Sir Christopher Wren, with all his knowledge and talent, seems to have been constrained to succumb to the low taste of the period. He had an eye to the details of Gothic architecture, for he did a great deal in Westminster Abbey, but he was overcome by the prevailing taste of the day, and his buildings are all in that classical style which we all, I hope, agree is not the most suitable for Christian worship.

Within the last fifty years we have to rejoice in the regeneration of Gothic architecture. This science has become the study of men of great intellect and power,—I need hardly mention such names as Scott, Street, Woodyer, and others,—men who have lifted it into its proper position, and have succeeded in reviving in the minds of the intelligent people of this country a true love and veneration for the architecture which our ancestors have bequeathed to us.

I should have liked, had time permitted, to say a few words about French architecture in relation to English. The Early French architecture is very similar indeed to our Early English. There is a difference, though not very marked, between the Decorated English and the Decorated French, but between the Perpendicular English and the corresponding period of the French there is a very marked difference. The French is called *flamboyant*, from the character of the tracery, the lines exhibiting the wavy character of flame. Some of this character, or very similar, may be seen in Great Horwood Church, and other churches in England ; but it is still peculiar to France.

I hope I have succeeded, in however slight measure, in giving you some idea of the origin and progress of Gothic architecture. It is quite impossible, in an elementary lecture, to do justice to so great a subject; and indeed I feel that I ought to apologize for the light texture of this address; but if you wish for further information, I cannot do better than recommend to you Mr. Parker's excellent work, "An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture"—a little 5s. book, in which you will find a full and copious account of the various periods of architecture, such as will be a safe guide to you in the study, up to a certain point, and will assist you very much in applying your knowledge to various examples wherever you go. For there is this point of interest attaching to the study of Gothic architecture; you can go nowhere where you will not find means of applying your knowledge. Amongst our many thousand old parish churches, while there is such an endless variety, you will generally find portions of these different styles in happy combination. There is scarcely a single church of a certain date which does not possess something that will interest the lover of Gothic architecture. Our old parish churches, in their variety of detail, with their general unity of structure, are a happy and beautiful type of the English church, varied in its circumstances, and yet possessing that general unity by which it has held, and I trust will long hold us together in the bonds of a common faith and common worship. It is an interesting fact that, at this period, when the Church of England, by God's goodness, has so risen in influence and power—(risen, I hope, through the efforts and self-denial of the clergy, assisted by a more intelligent appreciation on the part of the Christian laity of our doctrine and ritual)—that at this period there should have been such a revival in the knowledge of the structure of the buildings with which this doctrine and ritual are identified. It should teach us this very instructive lesson,—that Art in its highest and purest form is intimately connected with the progress of Religion, and that in proportion as man rises in moral and religious excellence, in that proportion he will rise in the knowledge and exercise of the kindred Arts. Religion and Art, as I believe, God has joined together, and "what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

NOTES OF ROYAL CHARTERS RELATING TO BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

(*Extracted from The Twenty-ninth Report of the Deputy
Keeper of the Public Records. 1868. 8vo.*)

WILLIAM I.

[c. 1072.] For the Cathedral of Lincoln.—Transfer of the
Rep., 41. seat of the bishopric of Dorchester to the city
of Lincoln. Grant of (*inter alia*) four churches :
viz., Bedford, Leston, Buckingham, and
Aylesbury, which the predecessors of Bishop
Remigius had held from the King's grant.
Witnessed by Lanfranc, the Archbishop, and
E., the Sheriff. Recited in

Charter Roll, 3 Edw. III., No. 51.

" " 2 Rich. II., No. 5.

Patent Roll, 2 Edw. IV., p. 4, m. 14.

Confirmation Roll, 7 & 8 Hen. VIII.,
p. 2, No. 2.

[10 . .] For the same.—Another charter. Wit-
ib., 41. nessed by (*inter alios*) H. de Bochingham.
Recited in

The Rolls above mentioned.

WILLIAM II.

[10 . .] For the same.—Confirmation of all previous
ib., 47. gifts : viz. (*inter alia*), Helesberia church, with
lands and tithes—viz., Stochas, Waltona,
Buchelant; Buchingeham, with lands and
tithes; and a carucate of land in Gauecota.
Subscribed by King William and many others.
Recited in

Charter Roll, 9 Edw. I. No. 51, and

The Rolls above mentioned.

It may be presumed that the Calendar of Royal
Charters will be continued in future Reports.

H. G.

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting

FOR THE YEAR 1868.

The annual meeting of the members and their friends took place on July 14th, and proved, perhaps, one of the most successful ever held. The locality selected was Windsor and Eton, one peculiarly attractive, both in an historical and architectural point of view.

The party assembled in the Castle Yard at half-past ten, and were conducted into the entrance hall, where they were received by the Queen's librarian, Mr. B. B. Woodward, F.S.A. Addressing them, he expressed his gratification that he had the Queen's permission to throw open to the Society's inspection those portions of the building not usually seen by the public, which might serve to illustrate its early history. It was to be regretted that there was no labourer in the study of English remains who could do what Niebuhr had accomplished for Italy. He pointed out the nature of the ground upon which Windsor Castle was built, which, he argued, showed that it had never been a fortress of any great magnitude, where a lengthened stand could be made, but rather a place of refuge for the wives and families and cattle of the population in cases of sudden assault. In certain hilly counties they would find the tops of the hills covered with trenches and mounds; in others, where there was a steep escarpment, forming a natural defence, they would find the earthworks of different shape. Roman camps were always placed with a view to such a command of water as would enable them to be held for a length of time; but these were constructed with a view to a very short resistance—a day or two at most. There was scarcely a mediæval castle which was not connected with the site of some primæval fortress of the ancient Saxons. That there was such a stronghold at Windsor in the time of William the Conqueror is quite certain, for it is mentioned in the Domesday survey. We know that Edward the Confessor had a palace here, but where it was we have not been able to ascertain. Tradition points to New Windsor, but the remains are not sufficient to establish the locality. Those remains appear more probably to belong to a mansion of the sixteenth century—some portions which have been transferred to some neighbouring cottages undoubtedly are of that date. The site of the Castle was, then, perhaps, that of Edward the Confessor's house at Windsor, and as Anglo-Saxon dwellings were mostly of timber, it is not surprising that very few indications should remain of it after the stone building was erected. William the Conqueror had a sort of hunting lodge here, and under all the Norman sovereigns works appear to have been going on, until Henry I. took up the work and enlarged it very much. This mound, though very fine, does not equal in size or height the mounds of many castles of less importance. There was hardly room for a donjon in the grand Norman style, nor was there any space for men to assemble and form between the donjon and the descent of the hill, to defend the last line of works. The large semi-circular tower, called Edward the Third's Tower, was one of the Norman gateways. There are still some of the jambs on one side of the gateway, and portions of the hinges remaining. Another evidence of the Norman date of this work is the existence of two sally-ports cut through the solid chalk rock on which the castle is built, which are evidently of the time of Stephen, or Henry III.—times when the defence even of a Royal Castle was a matter by no means of mere form. The next stage is the building of the castle proper. We have records of the reign of Henry III., of the

employment of masons, carpenters, and various workmen here, not only of the first St. George's Chapel, but the whole parapet and the three towers overlooking the lower ward. Mr. Parker would speak more fully of the various steps by which the buildings of the lower ward became what they now are, and he would not enter into details which, however interesting to the antiquarian, as sometimes deciding points of great importance, were wholesomely forgotten when they were studying the growth of the building as a whole. The reign of Edward III. brought us to one of the famous names in English history. It was not sufficiently remembered that the clergy at one time engrossed the whole of the practical knowledge and learning of the age; and the celebrated William of Wykeham was clerk of the works, or, as we should say, the architect, at a weekly salary of seven shillings, and practically superintended the work. There is a whole series of accounts of the conversion of the original donjon into the Round Tower; but there is no mention of any expenditure for raising the mound—a clear proof that the mound already stood there. Edward III. erected the Round Tower for a special purpose, to be the seat of his newly established order of the garter. There was on the main floor a sort of gallery, with seats for the knights, with a round table in front of them—the servants waiting on the inside. This was the real round table concerning which we heard so much—not like that shown at Winchester, but the very thing. Ascending the Round Tower, and looking down on the inside, there may still be seen the remains of the square lean-to or pent house that covered the round table. The wooden substructure was the oldest part of the building, and the masonry of Edward III. was still as strong as ever. The next step in the progress of the Castle is that of Henry VII., who built what now forms part of the library. Beyond that is the portion of Queen Elizabeth, a long narrow room, built for a picture gallery. Charles II., with that remarkable taste which distinguished him, turned what Wykeham had built into something differing little from the manufactories of later years. Scarcely anything was done worth remembering until the time of George IV., under whom Wyattville was employed. He was a poet, not an architectural antiquary, and built for beautiful effect, not for historical correctness. Of what has since been done, it was perhaps not well to speak at all.

The visitors were then conducted to the earliest part of the building, in the south-west corner of the castle, the more adventurous descending the sally-port under the York tower, the floor having been taken up to allow of the inspection. They also visited the portions of the foundations mentioned by Mr. Woodward, and noticed the groove of the porteoullis which still remains. From thence they were conducted to the servants' hall and the state dining-room, where the magnificent carvings of Gibbons were inspected. On reaching the library, which is under Mr. Woodward's special care, the visitors were allowed to inspect many objects of interest not usually shown to the public, including the Sobieski Missal, a miniature by Holbein, the seals of King Theodore, Charles I.'s Shakespeare, and a number of valuable autographs. The fireplace, a fine specimen of early English renaissance, bearing the date of the 25th year of Queen Elizabeth (1583), was expressly pointed out. It was much to be regretted that time did not permit even a hurried glance at one tenth of the objects of interest.

At the termination of the inspection of this part of the building, the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, in the name of the Society, tendered him their hearty thanks for the courtesy he had manifested, expressing his satisfaction that the Royal library was in such good hands.

Mr. Woodward, in reply, expressed his satisfaction in meeting the

members, and was pleased that he was enabled, by the Queen's permission, to throw open those portions of the building most interesting to the Society. He rejoiced, too, that the Bucks Archæological Society had not been stopped by the river, but had, as societies of that kind should do, visited places conterminous to their own county.

From the library the visitors were conducted, under the guidance of Mr. Parker, of Oxford, over the other portions of the building. He first called their attention to the Round Tower, before which they stood. This, he said, was originally built by Edward III., to receive the celebrated Round Table, which was placed in a narrow gallery, with a pent-house roof, just within and against the outer walls. There are remains of this wooden roof, and of the arches under the gallery, of the character of the time of Edward III. The tower was built upon old earthworks of very early character, and the mound was the keep of the original castle. He then pointed out some fragments of the Norman castle of Henry I. and II., chiefly sculptured capitals of the latter reign, which had probably belonged to the chapel, as that was usually the richest part of the building. Then, in passing the exterior of the Royal Tombhouse, now the monument to the late Prince Consort, he mentioned that it is on the site of the old chapel of Henry III., and the north wall is still of that time. He then led them to the cloisters, and showed them the outside of the wall with the fine arcade of Henry III. Upon it are some remains of the original painting. The cloisters were pointed out as, in one respect, similar to those of Westminster Abbey, taking the place of the aisle, although outside the chapel proper. The stone bench in the cloister, although appropriate, was not often met with. In St. George's Chapel, Mr. Parker pointed out the extreme beauty of the groined roof, observing that in English architecture every stone in the groined roof is cut to fit its place; whereas, on the Continent, where vaulted roofs are far more common, they are simply square stones, forced into their places, and kept there by cement. He also drew attention to "Parson Shorn's Chapel," a name which most Buckinghamshire people would remember. Mr. Parker observed that he was an incumbent at Long Marston, who discovered some mineral springs at North Marston, supposed to be good for the cure of gout, and who was made a saint, not by the Pope, but by the people, who honoured him much, and erected altars and chapels to his honour, not only in his own neighbourhood, but in Norfolk and at Canterbury also. The earliest part of St. George's Chapel that was built was the Chantry Chapel of "Parson Shorn," at the north-east corner, with two rooms for the chantry priests over it, forming one of the towers. After this was finished, there was a break in the work, and an interval of time before St. George's Chapel was continued, the royal gang of workmen being sent to North Marston to rebuild the choir there, a worthy shrine in honour of Parson Shorn, whose relics had been given by the king to the chapter of St. George's. The offerings of the faithful at this shrine were numerous and important, and these were of material assistance to the dean and chapter in carrying on the work at St. George's. The next part to be built was the choir, with its aisles, and the vaults and their aisles. This part was executed in the time of Edward IV., who is buried on the north side of the altar, in the king's aisle, which was the entrance to the chapel from the chapter-house. A temporary wooden roof was put over the choir at the head of the vaults and the aisles, and remained for several years. The "upper church," as it is called—that is, the clerestory and the vault of the choir—was not built until the reign of Henry VIII., as appears by the contract with the masons for building it, and the pattern of that of the nave. These vaults were long among the most wonderful pieces of construction in the world, and must

always be matter of admiration for the scientific skill with which they are built. Passing into the choir, Mr. Parker observed that some people found fault with the flags, but they were consonant with the original object of the building, and, moreover, they might observe how much more easily he was heard there than in the nave, showing that then our ancestors understood the principles of acoustics better than we do; and he believed that if the Houses of Parliament were hung with curtains or flags, the debates would be heard to much greater advantage.

After inspecting the various antiquities of the building, the visitors were admitted, by the special kindness of the dean, to Wolsey's Chapel, which is now being fitted as a memorial chapel to the late Prince Consort, at the cost of the Queen and the Royal children, under the direction of Mr. G. G. Scott. The beautiful mosaics in the roof, by Salviati, were duly admired. The splendid mosaic pictures, now in course of being painted by Mr. Herbert, were also inspected, so far as they are yet allowed to be seen. Of the designs (inlaid in marble), one of which has been presented by each member of the Royal Family, only four are as yet visible: that presented by the Princess Louise, with the motto "Steadfastness and truth," represents Moses blessing the children of Israel; that by the Princess Beatrice, the figure of Nathaniel, with the motto "Sincerity;" that by the Prince Arthur, the figure of Samuel, with the words, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth," and the motto, "Eloquence and harmony;" and that by the Princess Helena, the figure of Solomon, with the motto, "Wisdom and science." It is to be hoped that before long these works of art, so valuable in themselves, and so interesting as regards their object, will be thrown open to the British public.

It should be stated that the Dean of Windsor had most courteously desired that every object under his care should be thrown open to the visitors, and had commissioned Mr. Parker to be their guide in his absence.

Leaving the royal residence, the visitors descended the "hundred steps," and soon reached the precincts of Eton College, where they were hospitably entertained at luncheon by the Rev. W. B. Marriott, who also kindly exhibited several valuable illustrations of the clerical vestments, both of the Eastern and Western Churches. Proceeding to the library, the visitors were received by the Provost, the Rev. Dr. Goodford, who pointed out many objects of antiquity, especially a series of the great seals of the successive sovereigns, affixed to various grants to the college. The earliest of these is that of William Rufus; there is also a grant of land from King John, and two charters of Walter Giffard, the first Earl of Buckinghamshire (these are attached to charters belonging to the lands afterwards given to the college); a prayer-book of Queen Mary; a MS. of the Koran, and many others, which it would be tedious to catalogue.

At three o'clock, the company attended divine service in the College Chapel, and afterwards made a brief inspection of the building, under the guidance of Mr. Parker, who pointed out some of the beauties and defects of the modern glass windows, observing that the rawness of the blue colour is a defect which in old glass is always modified by the use of a diaper pattern in brown, which softens it down. The roof is a modern erection—a fine open timber roof, equal to any in the world—and it may be noted that timber roofs have many advantages, especially in lightness. They are more common in England than on the Continent, where, as before mentioned, vaulted stone roofs are less scientific, but also far less costly. Mr. Parker went on to observe that the Gothic style is an English invention, that is, was first fully developed in England in its purity, free from any mixture of the Romanesque style. All comparison with foreign work tends to establish that point. Each successive change of style took place

thirty or forty years earlier in England than on the Continent. The choir of Lincoln Cathedral had long been a favourite study of his, and it happened that the documentary evidence of its age was particularly strong. He had at first been perplexed by the evidence, which seemed to point to a Burgundian architect as having designed it; but after the fullest investigation, he had come to the conclusion that the architect, whose name was Du Noyers, was a Lincolnshire man, though his ancestors had come over with William the Conqueror. In Lincolnshire English architecture happened to be in a particularly advanced state just at the moment when Gothic was developed from a mixture of the Roman and Byzantine, after the return of the Crusaders. When he visited Lincoln with some of the most eminent French archæologists, they agreed with him that there was nothing in France like it of the corresponding period, and therefore he claimed for England the parentage of Gothic architecture.

THE ANNUAL MEETING.

At four o'clock the meeting for transacting the routine business of the Society was held in the Hall of Eton College, the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, D.D., presiding.

The Secretary, the Rev. C. LOWNDES, read the Report of the Committee, as follows:—

"The Society, having now attained its majority, your Committee have much satisfaction in reviewing its position and prospects at the close of this the twenty-first year of its existence. During its minority much useful work has been accomplished in the accumulation of a considerable store of information, which has been published in the 'Records of Buckinghamshire,' in the establishment of a Library and County Museum, and the collection of Antiquities, Drawings, Manuscripts, etc., illustrative of the History of the County. The roll of members during the first year of its existence contained only 55 names, but on the 31st of December last it contained 247. During the past year 14 new members were elected, and 11 were removed by death and resignation. Among those removed by death the Society has to deplore the loss of Colonel Hanmer, one of its oldest members and a Vice-President.

"Your Committee have nominated the Rev. C. O. Goodford, D.D., Provost of Eton, to the vacant office of Vice-President, and recommend you to elect him to-day.

"Your Committee beg leave to resign into the hands of the Society the trust reposed in them during the past year, and to express their willingness to resume their duties if re-elected. They trust that all the members will exert themselves to make known the objects and proceedings of the Society when an opportunity offers, to obtain subscribers, and to collect information on subjects of Architectural and Archæological research. Although the Society's operations have been progressive, and have already been of the highest advantage to the County historian, still it requires the fostering help and patronage of the generous and cultivated minds of the nobility and gentry of the county. With these aids it is hoped that the Society will attain a position of still greater usefulness, alike satisfactory to its promoters and conducive to the interests of truth."

The HIGH SHERIFF (J. Carson, Esq.) moved that the report be adopted, printed, and circulated. He expressed his satisfaction at the success of the meeting, which had been the means of conveying a great deal of valuable information.

C. G. DU PRE, Esq., M.P., concurred in thinking the report very satisfactory, and seconded its adoption most cordially.

Mr. J. K. FOWLER called attention to the desirableness of providing more suitable accommodation for the Museum of the Society, suggesting that one of the rooms over the Corn Exchange at Aylesbury might be found available. He thought that if a better room was provided, clergymen and others might not only assist the Society by their labours and their contributions, but by sending any ancient remains which might be found in their respective localities.

The adoption of the report was carried unanimously.

On the motion of J. WHIGHAM, Esq., the whole of the former officers were re-elected, and the name of Dr. Goodford, Provost of Eton, was added to the list of Vice-Presidents.

On the motion of the Rev. W. J. BURGESS, seconded by J. E. BARTLETT, Esq., sixteen new members were elected.

The Chairman then called upon the Provost of Eton to read a paper on Eton.

The Rev. Dr. GOODFORD said he had been connected with Eton College for upwards of thirty years, and it was more through fondness for it than his knowledge of the subject that he was induced to accede to the application to read a paper. A member of the House of Commons had recently stated in his hearing, that he had gone down to Eton to find out of what use the Provost and Fellows of Eton were, and the result of his inquiries was the discovery that the Fellows were of no use at all, and that the only use of the Provost was to give entertainments. He was not confident that the members of the Bucks Archæological Society would leave Eton duly impressed with the conviction that he did his duty even in that matter. If they should, in his paper, hear something which they had not heard before, they would, perhaps, give him credit for endeavouring to do what he had undertaken. He would not enter into the history of the College, which all who took an interest therein could obtain from other sources, but would confine himself to some details which were not accessible to those who did not occupy his position in the College.

The paper read by Dr. Goodford will, by his kind permission, be published in the "Records of Buckinghamshire."

The Rev. H. BULL, in moving a vote of thanks to Dr. Goodford, said he did not care for the Parliamentary estimate mentioned by Dr. Goodford, but hoped that the Provost and Fellows would be enabled to resist all acts of spoliation, which, not only in the days of arbitrary kings, but under a free constitution, were apt to overtake the institutions of the country.

ACTON TINDAL, Esq., seconded the vote of thanks, and expressed the interest which he felt in everything pertaining to the College, observing that his only connection with it was that two of his sons were here enjoying the benefits which he trusted they would never forget.

The PRESIDENT next called upon the Rev. W. B. Marriott to read a paper on "Vestments," which was illustrated by a number of photographs, chiefly taken from the rev. gentleman's work on the subject.

This Paper will also be printed, by the kind permission of Mr. Marriott, in the "Records of Buckinghamshire."

C. G. DU PRE, M.P., moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Marriott for his valuable paper. The subject was one with which they were not so familiar as they should be. He hoped, from the facts which had been laid before them, much useful knowledge would be acquired, and much prejudice removed.

Mr. PARKER (who had been appealed to by Mr. Marriott on several points) in seconding the motion, said, the theological questions involved were rather for the clergy; but all the information he had been able to

obtain in Rome singularly bore out Mr. Marriott's views. He believed that rich vestments did not come into use till the time of Charlemagne, when the temporal power of the Pope was established. So far as regarded the Catacombs, before the time of Constantine they did not venture to paint Scriptural subjects at all. The "Good Shepherd," a conventional subject, was perhaps adopted as appropriate to Christian thought. As to the work of De Rossi, he was a man brought up in the Catacombs, and except on matters which the Church had decided he was to be relied on. He must observe, however, that no drawings, except photographs, were trustworthy as representatives of ancient monuments. In one of the very earliest representations of our Lord and his Apostles, about A.D. 390, most of the latter appear in the ordinary dress of Roman gentlemen, but two or three wear a dress closely resembling the modern surplice and stole.

The ARCHDEACON, in presenting the vote of thanks to Mr. Marriott, said that he was very much mistaken in the good sense of the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England, if they could not settle the question of ritual, in a way consistent with their attachment to the Reformed Church, without any breach of unity, and without any disturbance.

The HIGH SHERIFF moved, and R. ROSE, Esq., seconded, a vote of thanks to the Archdeacon, which, having been acknowledged, the meeting closed.

After the meeting, the members of the Society were hospitably entertained at dinner by the Provost, the Rev. Dr. Goodford. At the close of the repast, the Provost, according to the custom of the College, gave the toast, or rather a sentiment, to the memory of him by whose bounty it was he had been able to entertain them in that hall. That sentiment was the blessed and pious memory of King Henry VI. He would propose it in the usual form, "*In piam memoriam.*" If some of the ladies present did not understand it, he was sure that all antiquarian ladies did.

The PROVOST then said there was another toast, not a sentiment, which they did not meet without drinking, and which was always drunk wherever Englishmen assembled together, "The Health of our Gracious Sovereign the Queen."

The Ven. Archdeacon BICKERSTETH said a toast had been entrusted to him which he was quite sure, whoever the advocate might be, would be received with pleasure by all present. He congratulated the company on the complete success of the meeting. This was the second time that the Archæological Society had been entertained within the historical precincts of Eton College, and although they had pleasant recollections of spending long summer days in an intellectual way in their annual excursions, for many years past, he could truly say that he had never attended one, where he had gone through so long a day, with so much satisfaction and pleasure, from its beginning to its close, as he had on that day. For this success they were greatly indebted to the kindness of the Provost; and, although the meeting had been enlarged beyond what was originally expected, in consequence of the Provost's kind invitation, yet his hospitality had proved fully equal to the occasion. Personally, he felt under great obligation to the Provost; for a curious kind of, he would not say disagreement, but of difficulty, and not of recent standing, had existed between the Provost of Eton and the Archdeacon of Buckingham with respect to the visitation of this place. In ancient times the authorities of Eton bought off the Archdeacon of Buckingham by a small pecuniary payment, in virtue of which he was considered to have discharged his Visitation duties as regards Eton College. He (the Archdeacon) was there as a visitor of Eton College, and he was never better pleased than to find himself the guest of the Provost of Eton. He begged to assure the Provost, however, that he should faithfully respect the compact entered into between the former

authorities of Eton and the Archdeacons of Buckingham. The toast he was going to propose was "The health of the Provost of Eton," long known among Eton men, and known also to every one who knows anything of England's literature and education, and also, he might now say, not unknown to the antiquarians of the good county of Bucks. In proposing his health, with their best thanks for the pleasure he had afforded them that day, they of the county of Buckingham would carry away with them a lively recollection of the Provost's kindness, the memory of which would rest in their minds; for, although archæologists, they were not incapable of gratitude for recent kindnesses. He could not sit down without expressing the satisfaction with which he had joined in the service in the College Chapel, and had seen a large body of the youthful aristocracy of England worshipping there. It was a sight which seemed to blend the future with the past, and which had added not a little to the pleasure of the day.

The PROVOST of Eton said he knew they had not much time to spare, and he would not detain them long. The Archdeacon had spoken of himself and his efforts to make the meeting agreeable and pleasant. The statutes of the College say that the Provost ought to be a sociable man, and that he should assemble them together *juxta socialem mentem*. He begged to assure the Archdeacon, who had said that the Provost and Fellows of a former day had bought off the Archdeacons of Buckingham, that his predecessors had no such mean pecuniary ideas of the matter. The fact was that the founder, Henry VI., being desirous to make the officers of the foundation more independent, had obtained leave to exempt the College from Archidiaconal visitation, on payment of a certain number of marks. He was most glad indeed to see the Archdeacon not as visitor of, but as visitor to, the College. The Bishop of Lincoln, whom every one must respect, was the Visitor of the College, and even their respected Diocesan could not be received under that title. If all those whom he was pleased now to see around him were to become visitors of the College, he feared there would be a great many alterations in the statutes. He rejoiced especially that the Society had come this year, for next year he might perhaps be under a "governing body." But if he were still in a position to entertain the Archæological Society of Bucks, whenever the time came round for their visit to Eton, he trusted they might have as agreeable an excursion as they had this day. He said there was one other toast which he would call upon them to drink. They knew that to conduct any company required a head, with some capacity for leading. Their President had brought together that day a company, twelve or fourteen times as large, he believed, as when they assembled there the last time. He proposed the health of the President of the day, the Archdeacon of Buckingham. There were no doubt other officers to whom some part of the success of the day was to be attributed, but in these matters he always looked to the head.

Archdeacon BICKERSTETH said that that was an honour which he did not expect. There was very little credit due to him for the success of the meeting. If he had not been sustained and supported by the help of a very efficient officer, he could not have performed the duty which had devolved upon him on that occasion. The success of the day was chiefly due to their tried and valuable secretary, the Rev. Charles Lowndes, to whom the Society was eminently indebted. He had been consulted as to the arrangements and details of the meeting, and was very happy in having so valuable a conjutor. It was chiefly to the Rev. C. Lowndes that the Society was indebted for its prosperous condition.

The Rev. C. LOWNDIS having responded, the proceedings of a most agreeable day were brought to an end.





THE VESTMENTS OF THE CHURCH.

BY THE REV. WHARTON B. MARRIOTT.

The subject on which I have been asked to speak is a very wide one; but the form in which it has been proposed to me determines the main outlines within which it shall be treated. Having to speak of the Vestments of the Church, I shall have to direct your attention mainly, not to any particular types of ministerial dress characteristic of particular churches, whether of the West or of the East, but of that which is common to the Church as such. And in order to determine what this is, we must look, not to the special developments of mediæval or of modern Christendom, in periods of broken unity, and of diversities of doctrine finding expression in diversities of outward ritual and of vesture. We must go back, in the first instance at least, to the earlier centuries of Christian history, while the Church was yet "at unity in herself;" one still in outward semblance and by outward communion, even as she was (and still is) one, by virtue of her essential relation to one Divine Head.

As a first step in the inquiry before us, I think it will be well to lay before you the facts with which we have to deal. I have placed upon the walls before you, in historical order, some of the most ancient monuments of Christendom illustrative of the subject before us. And a brief notice of these will serve, better than anything else, to put you in possession of the main facts essential to the determination of the question which I have been desired to treat.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE I.

Roman Dress, of the more stately type, in the Apostolic Age.

The first Plate in the series before you is from a group in the Arch of Titus. This will serve, as well as any that

could be selected, to show what was the prevailing type of dress in the Roman empire during the apostolic age, and in that which immediately followed. And I bring this under your notice, in the first instance, because this dress, as we shall see, is the germ, out of which, by special modifications made from time to time, the ministering dress of the Church has been developed.

The scene represented is that of the Emperor Titus giving audience to his people, who assemble, with their wives and children, to give thanks to him for the restoration of peace and plenty to Italy.¹ The emperor, with officers of state and attendants, is represented in the upper compartment of the picture. Below, the central figure is no other than the typical "Paterfamilias," from whose modern representatives we receive so many and such interesting communications, whether *de rebus alimentariis*, as in the case before us, or upon other questions of moment GENITORVM SPEI His wife and children are also, as you see, duly represented—even the baby² has not been forgotten, though his clothes apparently have been.

The value of the picture for our present purpose is this—that you see here represented the dress of festivity, or of ceremonial, proper to different classes of persons, from an emperor to an ordinary father of a family. As the emperor appears here in the character of PVBLICVS PARENS (father of his people), he does not wear the shorter dress of military activity (illustrated in the figure of the attendant on his right), but the long and flowing dress of peaceful dignity, a toga worn over a long tunic reaching to the feet. The fuller³ this supervestment (whether toga or pallium), the longer the tunic, the finer

¹ FEMINARVM FOECVNDITATI GENITORVMQ SPEI CONSVLVIT PVBLICVS PARENS PER VNIVERSAM ITALIAM PVERIS PVELLISQ VLPIS (sic) ALIMENTARIIS INSTITVTIS. See Bellori, "Veteres Arcus Augustorum." Fol. Romæ, 1690.

² Compare Pliny Paneg. cap. 26. *Adventante congiarii die labor parentibus eral ostentare parvulos, impositosque cervicibus adulantia verba blandasque voces edocere.*

³ Compare Horace Epod. iv. *Videsne Sacram metiente te Viam, Cum bis ter ulnarum toga, ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium Liberrima indignatio?* And again, "*Exigueque togæ simulet textore Catonem,*" Ep. 1, xix. 13; and, even more clearly, 1 Ep. xviii. 29, *Tibi parvula res est; Arcta decet sanum comitem togæ.*





the materials of which each was composed—the greater was the indication of dignity in the person wearing them. Only in these particulars did the dress of an emperor, on a peaceful occasion such as this, differ⁴ from that of any other citizen, such as that of the father of a family who stands at the emperor's feet in the picture before us.

And this I will ask you to take note of, as a general principle, evidence of which will come before you again and again in the course of inquiries such as these:—

Short and scanty dress is the dress of activity, and of inferior rank:

Long and flowing dress is that appropriated to stately ceremonial, and to the expression of official dignity.

The picture before you speaks for itself in illustration of what I have now said, and I may pass on now therefore to the second in order of the Plates to which I have called your attention.

PLATES II. AND III.

Jewish Sacerdotal Dress.

The two Plates that follow immediately after the one last described, represent the costume of a Levitical priest and high priest. They are reproductions of the drawings given by Dr. Bock, one of the latest German writers upon vestimentary questions. And he again followed Braunius, in his erudite work on the "Dress of Jewish Priesthood." These drawings have been evolved out of the imagination of Braunius himself, giving expression, as exactly as he could, to the verbal descriptions of these vestments given in Holy Scripture, by Josephus and St. Jerome, illustrated by the commentaries of Maimonides and other Jewish writers. The dress of the high priest probably presents a very close approach indeed to that actually worn. But the representation of the priest is defective (so there is reason to think) in two particulars. The mitre, or tiara, which he wears upon his head, should probably be of the nature of a closely-fitting skull-cap; and the long white tunic be shorter by six or eight inches than that here shown.

⁴ There was, however, a further difference of ornament, in the stripes of purple, on the outer tunic, and on the border of the toga.

But I will not dwell now upon these and other particulars relating to this dress, a full description of which would occupy our whole time this afternoon. For the purpose of comparison with the earlier monuments of Christian dress, the plates before you are sufficiently exact. And for this purpose no elaborate inquiry will be needed into the minute details of the Levitical vestments here depicted.

PLATES IV. AND V.

Early Representations of Our Lord and of the Apostles.

I come now to what is of nearer interest to us, and has a more direct bearing upon the question in hand, the two plates, after frescoes in the Roman catacombs, representative of our Lord and his Apostles. In the first, which is from the Cemetery of St. Agnes, our Lord is represented with three apostles on either side (such at least is the most probable explanation of the scene represented). Our Lord himself occupies a central "throne" or chair of state, distinguished from the subordinate "thrones," both by its central position and by the footstool placed before it. The dress, common to all the personages represented, is a long white tunic, reaching to the ankles, with sleeves reaching to the wrists; and over this tunic (*tunica alba*, or *alb*) is a supervestment, such as in the Apostolic age, and for some three centuries later, was known as a "pallium," the Greek (*ἱματίον*) himation.

And here I may call your attention to the remarkable ornament of the tunic, one which here first appears among the monuments now before you, but of which in one form or other we find innumerable traces, both in East and West, throughout the whole period of Christian history. I speak of the dark band falling from both shoulders over the tunic. I say from *both* shoulders, because though, in several of the figures, that on the left shoulder is hidden by the supervestment (pallium), it is visible in one or two; and from a comparison of other monuments we know, that, as a matter of fact, it was attached to *both* sides of the tunic.

Observe, in passing, that as in the clavus, or ornamental stripe, on the tunic worn by senators and knights respectively, the higher dignity was indicated by the





Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.

OUR LORD AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES

From the Cemetery of St Callixtus at Rome.

broadier stripe or "lati-clave," so here in the central figure, intended, without doubt, for that of our Lord, the greater dignity is indicated by a stripe of double breadth.

Of this ornament, the exact resemblance of which, in general appearance at least, to the scarf or stole of English use, you will at once have observed, I shall have occasion again to speak somewhat later. Before passing on further, I will ask you to observe the many curious points of coincidence between this plate and that from the Menologium of the Emperor Basil, "The Seventh General Council," which you will see later in this series.

PLATE V.

Our Lord and the Twelve Apostles.

If any doubt could attach to the significance of the last picture, there will certainly be none as to that which comes next in order, a fresco from the Cemetery⁵ of St. Calixtus. It will be evident to you at a glance that our Lord and the Twelve are here represented. Our Lord is seated on a central throne (a *θρόνος δόξης*, or "throne of glory," in the language of Holy Scripture). Of the apostles, two (no doubt St. Peter and St. Paul) are seated on lower thrones or seats, while the rest stand in two equal groups on either side of our Lord.

The dresses here assigned to our Lord and to the Twelve resemble those shown in the Plate I have just now described. That dress, I may now add, is that which was assigned to Apostles by the consuetudinary traditions of Christian art, both in East and West. And you will observe here a curious illustration of a matter which I mentioned just now (see p. 305). Of the figures here represented, only the three who are *seated*, as a mark of special dignity, only these have the full *tunica talaris*, actually reaching to the feet. The others, who are represented

⁵ The general term "The Catacombs," by which the various Christian cemeteries at Rome are commonly described, is not a correct one from an archaeological point of view. One of these cemeteries is described in ancient documents as being *AD CATACUMBAS*, and to this specific designation the general use of the word is due. I may add here that in giving names to the different cemeteries, I have followed the older nomenclature (that of Besio and Aringhus) not the later and more correct designations of Chevalier de Rossi.

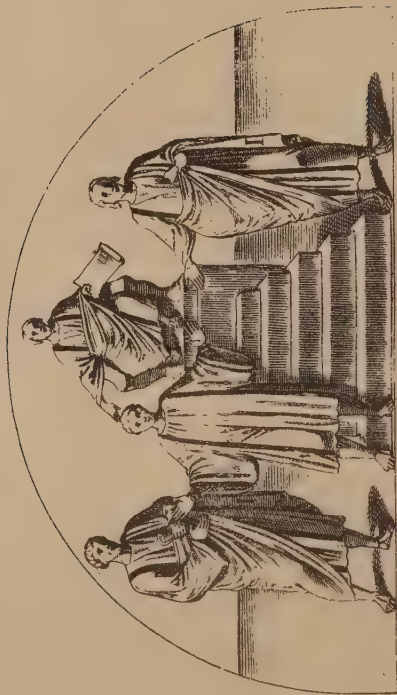
standing, and so in an attitude of activity, have, with one or two exceptions only, a much shorter tunic, reaching but a little way below the knee.

It will be a matter of interest to many present to observe the central figure of the right hand group (spectator's right) in this Plate V, which is reproduced by photography, I will add, from the engraving given by Aringhus, and has not therefore been manipulated (such things have been before now), so as the better to prove a point. I speak of the resemblance as a plain matter of fact—you may draw your own conclusions from it, or, if you will, draw none at all. But as to the fact, you will bear me out in saying, that an English clergyman, in his surplice and stole, might have sat (or rather stood) as the model from which that figure was to be drawn.



Observe, before we go further, the case (*capsa* would be the Latin term) containing scrolls (*volumina*) placed before the throne on which our Lord is seated. This is a symbol which we not unfrequently meet with in early Christian art, pointing to our Lord as the giver of the Divine Word contained in Holy Scripture.⁶ This symbol appears in a still more remarkable form in another picture, from the Cemetery of St. Agnes, at Rome. (See the

⁶ Compare Irenæus adv. Hæres, lib. iv. cap. 21, where he says that our Lord is the true "householder," who brings forth out of his "treasure" or "store," "things old and new." He adds, "*utraque Testamenta unus et idem Paterfamilias produxit.*"



Engraved by J. H. P. for the author.

ORDINATION OF A DEACON.
From the Cemetery of St. Hermes at Rome

woodcut above.) In this picture our Lord is again represented as seated, with St. Peter and St. Paul on either hand. And while he holds in the left hand an open codex (the later form of book), there are placed on either side of Him two open *capsæ*, containing "rolls of a book." Thus are represented, without doubt, the Books of the Old and the New Testament respectively, and our Lord, the Divine Word, as the giver of them.

Observe in that same picture the small scroll in the left hand of each of the two apostles. Take special notice of this—as being *the recognized symbol*⁷ *of an apostle* in early Christian art, while the Book of the Gospels, held in like manner, but in the form of a codex or bound book, was *the symbol of a bishop*,⁸ both in East and West.

PLATE VI.

Ordination of a Deacon.

The picture next in order is one of great interest, to which I must ask your special attention.

First for its history. It is a fresco in the Cemetery of St. Hermes, near the Via Salaria, at Rome. And it represents (almost without doubt) the ordination of a deacon, under its ideal aspect, that is as derived ultimately from our blessed Lord (seated here upon an

⁷ See for example the diptych of St. Paul, in the frontispiece of my "Vestiarium Christianum," and compare plates xvii., xxxviii., xlv. (the figure to the left of our Lord—*spectator's right*), and lxiii. In this last Plate, while the figure on the spectator's left has this older symbol, in that of St. James (from Trebizond), which is of very much later date, the later codex is substituted for the scroll.

⁸ *The Book of the Gospels held in the hand the symbol of episcopal office.* On the subject of official insignia generally, with special reference to those of Christian priesthood, see "Vestiarium Christianum," pp. xxxix. to xlv. And for what is here stated concerning the book of the Gospels, see the diptych of St. Paul (frontispiece of "Vest. Christ."), and plates xxv. (St. Gregory the Great); xxx. (St. Cornelius and St. Cyprian of Carthage); xxxi. (St. Xistus and St. O.—? Optatus); xl. (Leo IV.); xli. (St. Tarasius of Constantinople, and other Eastern patriarchs at the Seventh General Council). The figure of Eusebius of Cæsarea, in plate xxvii. (from Syriac MS.) seems to be an exception, but is, I think, not really so. He is there represented, as is Ammonius of Alexandria, a layman, in his *ordinary costume*, and the scroll which he holds in his hand is suggestive probably of his character as an *author*, the character in which he was directly associated with Ammonius.

exalted "throne"), *through* the apostles, represented, as at Rome more especially (but not at Rome only) they were commonly represented, by St. Peter and St. Paul. You will see in the hand of the figure to the right of our Lord, and less distinctly in that to the left, the "scroll" which I have already spoken of as symbolizing the apostolic office.

This picture being quite unique of its kind among all the frescoes of the Catacombs, the question naturally occurs, whether there are any special circumstances to account for this.

I think there are. And this first is to be noted, that we learn from Anastasius, "the librarian," our chief authority for details of ecclesiastical matters concerning the early Roman Church, that Pelagius, Pope of Rome^o from the year 578 to 590 A.D., "*fecit*" (either repaired or "arranged and decorated") this cemetery. The vague use of "*fecit*" in Roman documents, leaves us uncertain what share exactly Pelagius may have had in repairing or enlarging this cemetery. But of one thing we may be quite certain, that Pelagius did not "make" or construct this cemetery in the ordinary sense of the word. For the cemetery had existed for centuries before; and some of the inscribed stones, found not long after its rediscovery in the sixteenth century, bear consular dates which go back to the middle of the third century. And there are other indications, such as the occurrence of *Greek* inscriptions, which indicate a very early date.

But there is a further circumstance to be mentioned. The same Pelagius who "*fecit*" this cemetery ("*did it*

^o *Pope of Rome. Papa Romanus.* This was, till about the middle of the ninth century (possibly somewhat later, but if so we have no evidence of it) the general mode of describing officially the Bishop of Rome, in order to distinguish him from other Popes (*Papæ*), such as the Bishops of Alexandria and of Carthage. The latest instance, if I am not mistaken, of the official use of this title, is in the now famous fresco ["Vest. Christ." plate xl.] from the hypogæan church of St. Clemente. This fresco, representing the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, was given to the church by Leo IV. (represented with the *tabula quadrata, viventis insigne*, the "square nimbus" so called, which marked the personage represented as *still living*) in the middle of the ninth century. He is described in the fresco itself as SANCTISSIMUS DOM. LEO QRT. PP. ROM, *i. e.* Sanctissimus Dominus Leo Quartus Papa Romanus. Roman antiquaries have honestly recognized the true date of the fresco; Roman controversialists, I am afraid, have not.

up," perhaps we may say), rebuilt the ancient Church of St. Laurentius, and decorated it with mosaics. And in the mosaic portrait of the donor, which is placed, *de more*, on the extreme left (spectator's left) of the principal mosaic,¹⁰ the bishop is represented in precisely the same costume (white alb with black stripes, and white super-vestment) as that assigned to our Lord and the apostles in the fresco of which we now are speaking.

This being so, it might be inferred with some probability, that the fresco of the cemetery and the mosaic of the Church of St. Laurentius proceed from the same hand. I cannot, of course, be *certain* that this inference would be a wrong one, but I incline to think it is, and for the following reason:—As I am speaking to antiquaries and archæologists, it is hardly necessary for me to remind you, that the accompaniments and surroundings of an ancient monument, such as that now before you, are as important to the determination of its true character as is the *contexti* of a passage from Scripture, or the Fathers, when alleged for the determination of some matter of theological controversy. Now what are the surroundings of this picture—what the frame, so to speak, in which it is set? You will find them shown in detail by Aringhus¹¹ in his "*Roma Subterranea*," and the result you will find to be this—that this fresco occupies the back wall of an arcosolium, or arched recess over a tomb, and that what may be called the framework of the picture consists of a series of smaller frescoes, in which are represented (in their order from spectator's left to right) Daniel in the Lions' Den, Moses drawing Water from the Rock, the Raising of Lazarus by our Lord, and the "Three Children" in the Furnace. Now these all belong to that earlier "*Ciclo Biblico*," or cycle of Scriptural subjects, which is characteristic of an earlier stage of catacombal illustration than that of Pelagius II. at the close of the sixth century. And these subjects (which frequently recur in the earlier catacombs) are such as point evidently to our Lord as the deliverer from persecution, or from trouble in this world, and from death itself in the world to come. From all this I infer, that the monument in

¹⁰ See "*Vestiarium Christianum*," plate xxix.

¹¹ Aringhi "*Roma Subt.*," tom. ii. p. 328. [*Romæ*, MDCLI.]

question has reference to the life, and possibly to the martyrdom, of some deacon of the Roman Church there buried; and I should assign to it a date considerably earlier than that of Pelagius II.

However, all this I readily admit to be matter too uncertain to serve as a basis for any distinct conclusions based upon date. It is sufficient for my present purpose to point out, that this fresco, probably the earliest in which a distinctly ecclesiastical act is represented, whatever be its exact date, agrees in details of costume with all these early representations of our Lord and of the apostles which we have had already under our view. And, again, that Pelagius, wishing to represent himself, in a solemn scene, in the mosaics of a church restored by himself, caused himself to be depicted in the same ancient costume which the artist of the Cemetery of St. Hermes had thought appropriate to one of the most solemn ordinances of Christian ministry.

PLATE VII.

Eastern representation of our Lord and the Twelve.

As time presses, I must not dwell, as I could have wished to do, on this next picture, which is from an ancient Syriac MS. written at Zagba¹² in Mesopotamia, in the year 586 A.D., and acquired, with many other such treasures, for the library of the Medici at Florence in the year 1497. I will only ask you to observe, that in this picture, which represents the traditions of the East at a time exactly coincident with that of Pelagius II.—viz., the close of the sixth century—the traditionary type of apostolic dress (long tunic, with dark stripe, and himation for supervestment) is identical with that assigned to them in those many Western pictures, which we have already had under our notice.

PLATE VIII.

The San Vitale Mosaics at Ravenna.

We now come to a new type of dress—new, at least, in some particulars—one which forms a connecting link

¹² For the history of the MS. and representations of its illustrations (none the less faithful for being very rude), see Assemani (Steph. Evod). "Bibliotheca Medicea." Florentiæ, folio, 1742.





THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN AND ARCHBISHOP MAXIMIANUS.

between that primitive and apostolic type (so reputed at least, and, as I for one believe, rightly reputed, both in East and West), and the later mediæval type preserved to this day in the vestments of the Roman Church. (See Plate XIII.)

We possess a number of monuments, both of literature and of art, and of the Eastern as well as the Western Church, which enable us to determine with sufficient certainty the type of ministering dress, which prevailed in the Church at the close of the sixth century, and had probably been received, more or less generally, for perhaps a hundred years or more (it is impossible to say exactly how long) before that time.

The picture before you will give you a very good idea of what that dress was. And it will command, probably, a still greater interest, when I add, that it is very nearly the same as that prescribed for the dress of holy ministry in the Rubrics of the first Prayer-book of Edward VI., referred to, as all here will recollect, in those of our present Prayer-book. The resemblance is not *quite* exact, as we shall see presently. But, speaking generally, we may say, that as our surplice and black stole have their exact counterpart (in appearance, at least) in that figure of an apostle which I pointed out to you in Plate V.; so do the "white alb plain," with vestment [or cope], of the Prayer-book of 1548, find a very close counterpart in the mosaics of the Church of San Vitalis, at Ravenna, and in those¹³ given by the same Emperor Justinian to the great church (now mosque) of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, between 532 and 538 A.D.

This mosaic, then, now before you, will serve as a good foundation—the best that we could find—in determining the dress of holy ministry in the sixth century of our era. And first let us ascertain its date. It cannot be *earlier* than the year 547, for it was not till then that the church was completed, and the consecration of the church, here represented, took place. How

¹³ See "Vestiarium Christianum," p. lxxv., note p; and to the reference to Salzenberg there given, add Weiss, *Kostumkunde* (Stuttgart, 1864) l. p. 125; Fig. 65. The woodcut in the last page of this lecture will give a very good idea of the original, as shown in colours by Salzenberg. Both the tunic (sticharion) and phænolion (answering to Roman *casula*) are white; the ornamental stripes, etc., either red, or purple and red together.

long *after* that time this mosaic may have been put up, it is, of course, impossible to say with certainty. The addition of the *name* of the archbishop [MAXIMIANVS] renders it probable that the mosaic dates from after his death. During his life, it would have been no more necessary to proclaim his name to the people of Ravenna, than that of the emperor at whose side he stands. But, on the other hand, there are many reasons for supposing, that its date cannot be *very much* later than that of the church itself; and, on the whole, we may safely accept, as sufficiently exact, the general verdict of antiquaries, which assigns the monument before you to a date nearly coincident with that of the completion of the church.

And now for a description of the plate itself. The Emperor Justinian occupies the central place in the entire group, and he holds in his hands a golden bowl, containing offerings (or perhaps itself the offering) to be presented at the altar, on occasion of the dedication of the church. On his right hand, but standing a very little in the rear, are his great officers of state, and beyond them again some of his guards. Before them is the imperial shield of state, blazoned with the mystical monogram XPI, representing the name of Christ, or, as some explain it, ΧΡ (ιστός) Ι (ησους), "Christ Jesus." A third officer of state¹⁴ may be seen standing behind the emperor, a little to his left, his head and shoulders only appearing.

To the left of the Emperor, and in the same line with him, is the Archbishop of Ravenna, with two clergy in attendance, who may be either archdeacon¹⁵ and deacon, or two deacons (their dress¹⁶ is precisely similar), or, as

¹⁴ In the drawing given of this mosaic by Gally Knight ("Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy." London, 1842. Pl. x.), which I have followed, there is a slight mistake, which is reproduced in this plate. The layman, who stands behind the emperor, is represented with the tonsure; the deacon (or possibly subdeacon), on the extreme right (spectator's right) of the picture, is without it. This is owing to a mistake of the artist, who probably did not very accurately distinguish which were laymen and which not.

¹⁵ At Constantinople, the archdeacon wore the characteristic dress of a deacon, though he had, no doubt, some insignia to mark his higher rank. Whether this was the case elsewhere I do not know.

¹⁶ *Both* have the tonsure, though only one is so represented in this plate. See note 14.

others again think, a deacon and a subdeacon, the latter carrying a thurible.

It is with these three figures that we are now concerned, and of these only that I shall now speak.

And first I will ask you to notice the vestment which is common to all the three—viz., the long *tunica talaris*, reaching to the feet, like the ordinary English surplice, and with full sleeves, also not unlike those of some surplices. In the absence of such accurate representation as only a coloured drawing could give, you must take my word¹⁷ for some of the details which follow. The tunic, then, which you see here represented, differs from the simple “alb” (*tunica alba*), of more general use in the primitive Church, in that it has a narrow edging of black (a triple line) round the sleeves, and has also the double stripe of black, corresponding in appearance to the stole now customarily worn in the English Church, falling from either shoulder down to the feet. There is reason to believe that this ornament was not worn as a separate vestment, as is our own “stole,” but was sewn on, or otherwise attached, to the tunic itself.

The tunic thus ornamented was known as a “Dalmatic;” and till the close of the eighth century, or thereabouts, the wearing of this particular kind of tunic was claimed as a special privilege by the clergy at Rome, and only granted as an exceptional favour (see note 23) to such other churches in the West as the Bishop of Rome desired more especially to honour. Ravenna was one of the churches which claimed this right; and, not very long after the building of this church of St. Vitalis, they had a long and successful controversy on the subject with the clergy of the Roman Church.

I may mention here, that in all the earliest examples

¹⁷ Extraordinary differences of statement having lately been publicly made, with regard to these mosaics, I will state here that my description is founded on a comparison of four independent authorities, who give both drawings and descriptions of them. These are, Ciampini, “*Monumenta Vetera*,” tom. ii. pl. 22 [*Roma*, 1699]; Hefner-Altenck, “*Trachten des Christlichen Mittelalters*,” vol. i. pl. 91 (an elaborately-coloured drawing, with description, after copies of the original, taken on the spot, for the King of Prussia); Gally Knight (see above, note 14); and Dr. Rock, “*Church of our Fathers*,” vol. i. p. 319 (following drawings made expressly for his use by a skilful artist, under the direction of the then Archbishop of Ravenna).

of such dalmatics worn by ecclesiastical personages, in which I have been able to determine the colour of the ornamental stripes, I have found them to be either black,¹⁸ as here, and in the dresses assigned to SS. Cornelius, Cyprian of Carthage, and Pope Xustus (Sixtus), in the frescoes lately¹⁹ discovered by De Rossi; or dark red and dark purple,²⁰ as in the mosaics of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and in a mosaic at Rome (a coloured copy in the Windsor collection) of the year 640 A.D., in which the apostles are represented as wearing white tunics, with red stripe falling down in front from both shoulders.

Not having personally inspected the frescoes of the Catacombs, I cannot speak with certainty as to the colour in the various representations of apostles already noticed. But judging from the impressions of those who have seen them, and from such other evidence as is available, I have every reason to believe, that the stole-like stripe upon the *white* tunic is almost invariably black. It certainly is so in all the earliest mosaics in the collection to which I have made frequent reference, with the one exception which I mentioned just now, of the year 640 A.D.

Such, then, is the tunic common to all the three ecclesiastics, differing but little in shape from our own surplice, and in appearance and ornament differing very slightly from the same vestment when worn, as it now commonly is, with a black stole over it.

But as one of the three figures before us represents an archbishop, and an archbishop of a quasi-imperial city, we might have anticipated, what in point of fact is the case, that he would have some distinguishing vestments or insignia designating his exalted office.

He has both one and the other. The vestments

¹⁸ To the instances mentioned above, add a remarkable example from an ancient rock-church at Urgub, in Mesopotamia. See note σ, p. xxxvii. of the "Vestiarium Christianum," and the description and references there given.

¹⁹ See plates xxx. and xxxi. of the "Vestiarium Christianum," and De Rossi, "Roma Solteranea," vol. i.

²⁰ Technically, the tunics here represented are *sticharia*. The word *δελματικίον* does once occur ("Vest. Christ.," p. lv., note φ, where read *ἐθελοθησκευτικά* for *ἐθελορητοευκτικά*); but it is in speaking of the "phylacteried garments" of the Pharisees, not of Christian vestments.

peculiar to him are the planeta²¹ (answering to the later chasuble), and the archiepiscopal pallium (in shape like a white "stole," but differently²² arranged) worn over the



MOSAIC OF THE TRICLINIUM LATERANUM.*

* This woodcut is from a coloured drawing in Her Majesty's collection. St. Peter is here represented bestowing a Pallium upon Leo III. (who already wears one in that older form described in note 22) and a Vexillum, or Standard of Empire, upon Charlemagne. For further particulars concerning this interesting historical monument, see "Vest. Christ." (description of Plate xxxiii.), p. 239, and (description of woodcuts) p. 247.

²¹ For the history of the planeta, casula, and penula, see "Vestiarium Christianum," p. lx *sqq.*, and Appendix C, p. 192 *sqq.*

²² The mode in which the Papal or archiepiscopal pallium is arranged is an excellent test of the date of monuments. In genuine Western monuments earlier than the year 850 A.D., the pallium is never found in the forms Y or T, which occur in the later Roman monuments ["Vest. Christ.," pl. xxxix., xlii., xliii., xlv., xlv., xlv., xlv., but is arranged nearly as in early Greek monuments, one end (with a single black cross upon it) pendant in

planeta. The insignia, of which I speak, are the jewelled cross which he holds in his left hand, symbolizing his archiepiscopal office, and the book of the gospels, which, as we have seen already, was in those days the conventional sign of the office of a bishop. But in this case the Book is carried by one of his attendant deacons, much as the pastoral staff would be carried by a chaplain in the present day.

Summing up the conclusions to be drawn from the inspection of this monument, we find a long surplice-shaped tunic, with full sleeves, worn in common by the archbishop and his attendant clergy; that tunic, in the case of the clergy of a metropolitan see, having some simple ornament of black stripes. The bishop wears a planeta, or bell-shaped supervestment, over the tunic; and as metropolitan, or archbishop, he has a cross and a pallium.

And now, if we turn to literary evidence of not very much later date (some sixty or seventy years perhaps) we shall see how exactly our conclusions are borne out. In the acts of the fourth council of Toledo, in the year 633 A.D., we find that alb and orarium (or "stole," as it was afterwards called) were the vestments of a deacon; alb, orarium, and planeta the vestments of a priest; while a pastoral staff and episcopal ring are mentioned as the distinctive *insignia* of a bishop. No exclusively episcopal vestments are there spoken of; but from other sources we learn, what from the Ravenna mosaic we might have inferred, viz., that Bishops wore the planeta over either alb or dalmatic,²³ as the case might be.

Such, and so simple, was the dress of Christian

front from the left shoulder, while the other is carried behind the neck, brought over the right shoulder and across the chest, and then thrown over the left shoulder so as to hang down behind. Compare the arrangement of the omophorium (answering to the pallium) worn by the various patriarchs in Plate XI. below. A variation of the early form may be seen in the remarkable monuments figured in "Vest. Christ.," pl. xxx., xxxi.

²³ The dalmatic only by privilege from Rome, or by invasion of the exclusive right claimed by the Roman Church. Compare Walafrid Strabo (writing early in the ninth century), *De Reb. Eccles.*, cap. 24. "Gregory and other Roman primates (*præsules*) allowed the use of the dalmatic by some bishops, forbade it to others; and by this it is evident that in those days that was not matter of general right, which now almost all bishops, and some priests, think is allowable to them, viz., that they should wear a dalmatic under a chasuble. See "Vest. Christ.," pp. 108, 109.



A BISHOP ADMINISTERING THE CHRISM

ministry even as late as the close of the sixth century of our era. Two vestments worn by a deacon, three by a priest, and the same three, with the addition of some distinctive insignia, by a bishop.

· PLATE IX.

Mosaic of Pope Pelagius II.

I must not detain you long upon this next picture, though there is much to interest us in it if time allowed of fuller discussion. At present I need only say, that it dates from the episcopate of Pelagius II., near the close of the sixth century; and that he himself is represented, as I mentioned just now, on the (spectator's) left of the mosaic. All the figures, including St. Stephen (related as a *deacon* to St. Laurentius) and St. Hyppolytus, as well as St. Peter and St. Paul, have the same primitive type of dress as that which we have already seen to be characteristic of the earliest representations of apostles. Only St. Laurentius himself (in whose memory, and in whose name, the church was dedicated) wears sombre vestments, which in shape, however, resemble those of the other personages.

PLATE X.

A Bishop administering the Chrism.

We must now take a long step of from three to four hundred years into the middle of the ninth century, or thereabouts. This Plate, which was first published, as far as I know, in my "Vestiarium," is from a MS. of the ninth century at Rome. It was photographed from a careful copy in the collection which belonged formerly to Pope Clement XI. It tells its own story, which is one of very great interest, for many reasons; but I must now speak of it only in regard to vestments. And first note what is now the dress of the laity, exemplified as this is in that of the godfather (*Patrinus* or *Susceptor*), who is receiving back the newly-baptized and "chrisomed" child. Compare this with the dress depicted in Plate I., and you will see proof of the revolution produced in dress, as in many other important matters, by the great tides of invasion from the north, which, from the begin-

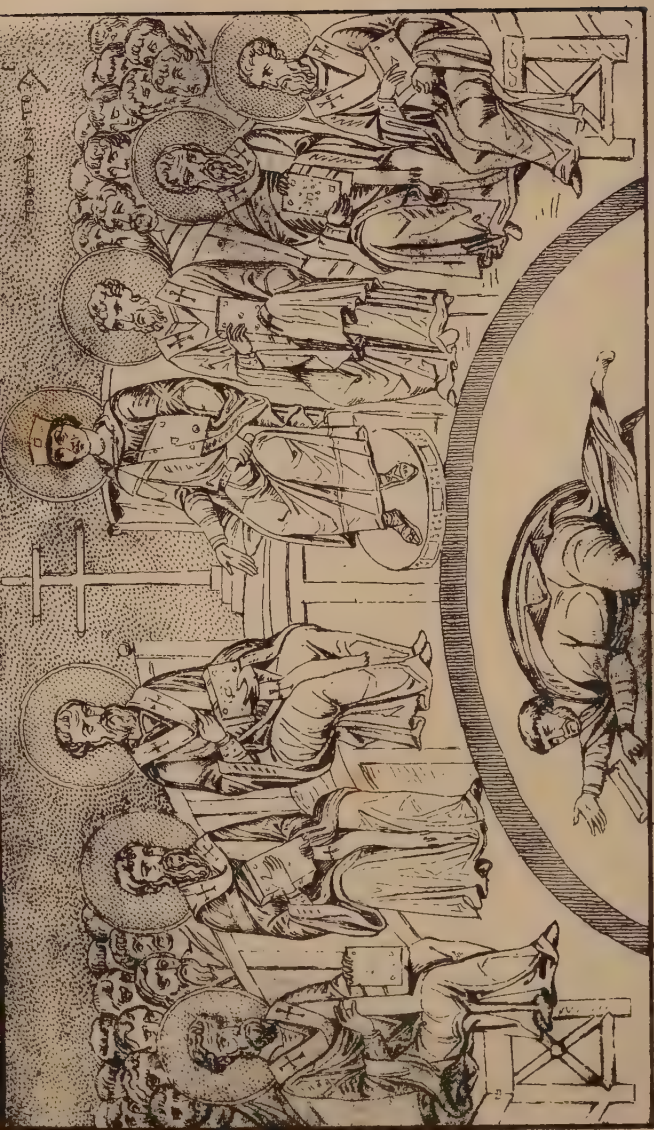
ning of the fifth century, had swept over the border lands of the Mediterranean Sea.

Then, turning to the ecclesiastics here represented—deacons, priests, and bishop are all there—you will see but little, if any, change from what we found just now to be the vestments of the sixth and seventh centuries. There is a priest (dipping a child into the font) in close-fitting alb, and the stole worn over both shoulders; behind him is a deacon, with the stole on one shoulder only. There is another priest (on the spectator's extreme left) wearing a planeta (or chasuble) over an alb; on his left is (apparently) a subdeacon, with alb only, and neither stole nor chasuble. But the prominent figure in the picture is the bishop (as he has the pallium over the chasuble he is, no doubt, an archbishop).²⁴ And he, again, is vested exactly as the acts of Toledo IV. would lead us to expect, save only that there is no trace of an orarium or stole underneath the chasuble.

One or two special points, however, are suggested by this picture, on which something must be said before we go further. And first, you may see here, in the figure of the priest immediately opposite the bishop, an example of that narrower and more scanty form of alb, which, at any rate from this ninth century onwards, and probably also from a somewhat earlier date, was in ecclesiastical use, side by side with the fuller surplice-shaped alb of earlier times. That the fuller form was the older and more normal of the two, we may conclude with certainty from the language of St. Jerome²⁵ and of

²⁴ The same may be said of other early representations of bishops (before 800 A.D.), where a vestment shaped like an orarium (stole), but corresponding to the pallium, is worn *outside* the planeta. See "Vest. Christ.," pl. xxx., xxxi.

²⁵ Epist. ad Fabiolam, quoted in "Vest. Christ.," pp. 12, 13. He is describing the *tunica talaris* of the *Levitical* priest, which he (as Josephus before him) describes as fitting closely to the body, and with very narrow sleeves; and in order to convey to his reader an idea of what it was like, he compares it with the *camisia*, or linen shirt, worn by soldiers when on service. Had any closely-fitting alb resembling the tunic of Levitical priesthood been in use in his own day in the service of the Church, we can hardly doubt that he would have referred his reader to this, rather than to the *camisia* of a common soldier. But Amalarius, writing early in the ninth century, draws a direct contrast in this very particular between the Levitical tunic and the Christian alb. After quoting (De Eccl. Off., lib. ii. cap. 18) the passage of St. Jerome just referred to, he adds: "*Ex eo distat vestimentum illud (the Levitical) a nostro, quod illud strictum est, nostrum vero largum.*" And he adds a mystical reason *why* this should be.



Vincent, Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.

THE SEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL

From a M.S. of the Xth or XIth Century

Amalarius. But you can well imagine that a full-sleeved surplice, or an alb so shaped, would be the most inconvenient vestment in the world for one administering baptism by immersion; and accordingly we find evidence in this picture, confirmed by what we read elsewhere,²⁵ that a closely-fitting alb, girt in at the waist, was worn by the priest when administering holy baptism.

You can easily understand how this narrower form of alb began to be very generally adopted, when in the tenth and later centuries it came to be a mere foundation, outside of which some three or four different supervestments were to be accumulated.

Just observe, before passing on, the strange *backing* to the bishop's head, something like the back of a chair. This is only the "square nimbus," so called, of which we have already spoken, as marking a distinguished personage *in his lifetime*.²⁷

PLATE XI.

The Seventh General Council.

The next plate takes us into a new region altogether—from the "old Rome" on the Tiber to the "new Rome" on the Bosphorus; from the Western Church to the Churches of the East. The scene represented is the Session of the Seventh General Council (so accounted in the Greek Church), known also as the Second Council of Nicaea, from the place in which it was held, in the year 787 A.D. It was the Council in which the Iconoclasts were condemned. You may see their representative, the embodied heretic of that day (in the judgment of that council), literally "floored," while six patriarchs,²⁸ the

²⁵ See the fragment describing the Gallican vestments ("Vest. Christ.," p. 204, Appendix D): "*Præcinctio vestimenti candidi, quod sacerdos baptizaturus præcingitur.*"

²⁷ John the Deacon (biographer of Gregory the Great), writing in this same ninth century, is the first to describe this, in speaking of a picture of St. Gregory. "*Circa verticem tabula similitudinem, quod viventis insigne est, præferens, non coronam (i.e., not the nimbus in which he would have been represented after his death).*" For contrasts of the square and the round nimbus, in the same picture, see plate xi in this volume, and "Vest. Christ.," plates xxxiii., xl., and xlii. compared with xliv.

²⁸ They are supposed to be present, though in point of fact several of them had not even heard of the council being summoned, owing to the occupation of the country by the Saracens. For further historical particulars see "*Vestiarius Christianus*," p. 212, and the authorities there referred to.

Emperor (Constantine VI.) presiding, sit in judgment upon him.

The drawing (of which an exact copy, coloured from the original, is in my possession) is in the "Menologium Græcorum" of the Emperor Basil, a magnificently illustrated MS. of the tenth or eleventh century, now in the Vatican library. The dress of the various patriarchs, as here represented, is one of considerable splendour. The long tunic, reaching to the feet, varies in colour, and is made, apparently, of silk. The phænolia, answering to the "casulæ," or chasubles of Western bishops, are, with one exception, a mixture of black and gold. The one exception is that of the patriarch immediately on the left of the emperor. This is no doubt intended for Tarasius of Constantinople, the "Ecumenical Patriarch." He is distinguished from the rest by a phænolion of lilac purple. One and all of them have a white omophorion (corresponding to the archiepiscopal pallium of the West) upon which are three black crosses, and they hold in the hand the book of the Gospels, the ancient symbol, as we have already said, of the episcopal office.²⁹

Though time will not allow of my entering at all minutely into the subject of ministering dress in the East, I may take this opportunity of stating, very briefly, that at the close of the eighth century the vestments of the Greek Church were all but identical in form, one of them (the orarium, or *ὠράριον*³⁰) in name also, with those commonly worn in the West. They were—1st, the sticharion, a long white tunic, like the alba, but ornamented at

²⁹ The dress in this case may either represent what actually was worn by Eastern patriarchs in the eighth century, or what that dress *had become* in the tenth or eleventh century, when the drawing was made. In all but colour it really represents both one and the other, for the Easterns made no change in the number and form of the vestments between the eighth and the close of the tenth century. As to colour, the white vestments of St. Sophia, already described (dating somewhat early in the sixth century), and these of Plate XI. dating from about the close of the tenth century, mark two limits, and are indicative of a change of taste in the interval on the part of ecclesiastical artists, corresponding to that which may be traced in the Western monuments of the same date. This is not to be wondered at, as almost all the mosaic work in the Roman churches at that time, and for some centuries later, was executed by Byzantine artists.

³⁰ Only the *deacon's* "stole" (to use the modern term) was known as *ὠράριον*. The same vestment (see "Veet. Christ.," p. 84, note 141), when worn by a priest round the back of the neck, was called *περιτραχήλιον* or *ἐπιτραχήλιον*.

times with little borders round the sleeve (called *λωρία*), and a stripe in front, like the Roman dalmatic; 2nd, a girdle; 3rd, a peritrachelion (*i.e.*, "worn round the neck"), answering to the Latin orarium; and 4th, a phenolion (*φαινόλιον* or *φελώνιον*, "Vest. Christ.," note 143), answering to the planeta (later "casula," or chasuble). Coupling together various notices of this vestment, some of fixed date, others more or less uncertain, we should conclude, that at the close of the eighth century the phenolion ordinarily worn in priestly ministry was "red," "fire-coloured," or "scarlet," but that on the most solemn occasions this would be exchanged for white (*λαμπράν έσθήτα*), such as the white phenolia shown in mosaics of the sixth century. To the vestments above named we may add yet two more: one (a napkin, suspended to the girdle) specially characteristic of the deacon's office, in respect of *service*³¹ to be rendered to the priest; the other, the "omophorion," was, like the Roman pallium, worn outside the phenolion, and was, as early as the time of St. Isidore of Pelusium, a recognized symbol of episcopal dignity in the East. In the ten centuries that have elapsed since St. Germanus of Constantinople gave the first detailed account of the vestments worn in any Eastern church, very few additions have been made. What these are, may be seen on comparison of the enumeration given by Patriarch Symeon³² of Thessalonica, early in the fifteenth century, with that of St. Germanus in the eighth.

³¹ Probably in handing water to the priest for the ceremonial washing of hands. This would explain the allusion of St. Isidore of Pelusium (Epist., lib. i. cap. 136), repeated with slight variation by Germanus of Constantinople (Rerum Eccl. Theor., p. 135). St. Isidore says:—"The piece of linen (*ή δόδνη*) with which the deacons minister in the holy place, is a memorial of the humility of our Lord in washing, and wiping dry, the feet of the disciples." St. Germanus (early in the eighth century) distinguishes between the *δόδνη* (either a piece of linen, or a vestment of linen), and "the napkin attached to the girdle," *ή δόδνη μεθ' ής λειτουργούσιν οι διάκονοι δηλοῖ τήν του χριστου ταπεινωσιν, ήν ενεδείξατο εν τω νιπτήρι. Τδ δε εγχείριον τδ επλ τής ζώνης εστι τδ απόμαζαν τας χείρας αυτού λέντιον* [Rerum Eccles. Theoria, p. 135, *apud* "Vest. Christ.," p. 86]. He adds, strangely enough, that this napkin is in antitype of him who wiped his hands, and said, "I am innocent" (meaning, of course, Pontius Pilate).

³² See "Vestiarium Christianum," p. 168, *sqq.*, and for St. Germanus, *ibid.*, p. 83.

PLATE XII.

A Mosaic of the twelfth century from the Church of St. Nicholas in Urbe, at Rome.

This Plate, coupled with the one which immediately follows it in the series before you, brings us, at a single step, over a period of three hundred years, reckoned from the approximate date (say 850 A.D.) of the last Roman monument (see Plate X.), which was under our consideration. And I have purposely selected these particular monuments for illustration and mutual comparison, because in the interval between those two is to be traced out that special development of sacerdotal dress, which is characteristic of the Roman Church. The plate before you, one that on many grounds is painfully characteristic of the time from which it dates, is a mosaic, the execution of which was commenced by order of Pope Calixtus II., and which was completed by his successor Anastasius IV. Let the inscription speak for itself, with a Latinity as characteristic in its way, as is the subject and the signature³³ which you see in the Plate itself. The inscription runs as follows:—

SUSTULIT HOC PRIMO TEMPLUM CALLIXTUS AB IMO
VIR CLARUS LATE GALLORUM NOBILITATE.
VERUM ANASTASIUS PAPATUS CULMINE QUARTUS
HOC OPUS ORNAVIT VARIISQUE MODIS DECORAVIT.

In respect of vestments, this Plate taken by itself will only help us to determine what was in the middle of the twelfth century the ceremonial dress of a pope. But on

³³ The words are PRÆSIDET ÆTHEREIS PIA VIRGO MARIA CHOREIS. The two Popes kneeling at the Virgin's feet, and embracing them, present a significant contrast to a picture, which in some particulars may be compared with this, whether as suggested in Holy Scripture, or actually depicted in the catacombs. The Magi, "when they saw the child with Mary, his mother, fell down and worshipped *Him*" (Matt. ii. 11). The two Popes here represented see before them, as did the Magi, "the young Child with Mary his mother," and they fall down and worship *Her*. Roman monuments form a suggestive commentary on this sad topic. Compare "Vest. Christ.," plate x., "The Holy Family"—probably not later than the close of the third century; plate xxxviii. (the Virgin crowned, and enthroned as a queen) of the year 855 A.D.; plate xl. (almost exactly contemporary with the last, see "Vest. Christ.," p. 241) representing the "Assumption;" plate xlv., in which the Virgin Mother shares the throne of the Saviour, being seated at his right hand; this last mosaic precedes by about twenty years that in plate xii. of this series.



supplementing this by an examination of contemporary literary evidence, we have no difficulty in determining, with even minute detail, every question of interest relating to the vestments then worn.

And one very important fact is at once suggested by the picture itself. The figure on the left (spectator's left) of the mosaic is intended to represent St. Silvester, the contemporary of Constantine. And you will observe that here, for the first time, we arrive at a representation of an ornament for the head, resembling (or intended to resemble) either the "mitre" (or "tiara"), or the "triple crown" of the Jewish high priest. It is a remarkable fact, that in the monuments of Christian art, from the very earliest that can now be traced, to the close of the tenth century, there is not a single example of any "mitre" upon the effigy of either pope or bishop in any part of Christendom, whether East or West.³⁴ Nor is the evidence on this subject negative only. In literary monuments from the beginning of the ninth to the close of the twelfth century, beginning with Rabanus Maurus³⁵ and ending with Innocent III.,³⁶ we are able to trace distinctly the series of changes and additions, by which the dress of a bishop, such as it had been in the ninth century (see Plate IX.), became such as we see in the plate now before you. At the beginning of that period the idea was broached of a resemblance in detail between the vestments of the Church, and those of the seven (or eight) vestments of the Jewish priesthood. Several of the earlier writers, while tracing this resemblance, show, indirectly but most conclusively, that they knew nothing of any actual "mitre," or anything at all resembling it, worn in offices of Christian ministry. Amalarius, for example ("Vestiarium Christianum," p. 102), early in the ninth century, can find nothing which will answer to the "golden plate" worn by a Jewish high priest, save

³⁴ In the East they are unknown to this day. Metropolitans in some parts of the East, in comparatively recent times, have had crowns or coronets bestowed upon them by imperial favour: and these, in consequence, have now become associated with the idea of metropolitan or patriarchal dignity at least in the Russian Church. But there has never been in the East generally any adoption of a "mitre" like that of Western bishops as a symbol of episcopal office.

³⁵ "Vest. Christ.," p. 88.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

the pallium (not worn on the head at all) of a Western archbishop. Walafrid Strabo, about the same time, says, "Whereas *then*" (under the Levitical law) "there were the tunic of the ephod, the tunic of linen, superhumeral (or 'ephod'), breastplate" (the "Urim and Thummim") "girdle, drawers, *tiara and golden plate*, so *now* we have dalmatic, alb, maniple, stole, girdle, sandals, chasuble, *and pallium*. And as the last named of those older vestments was worn only by high priests, so is the last of these Christian vestments worn only by "chief pastors." These passages alone would suffice to prove (even were other evidence wanting) that neither episcopal mitre nor papal tiara were known to these two writers, who, like others



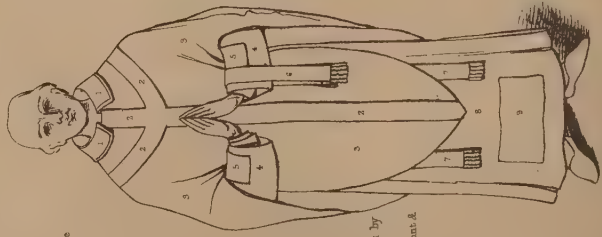
ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

FROM THE CEMETERY OF SS. MARCELLINUS AND PETER AT ROME.

of their time, were studiously looking out for points of resemblance between Jewish and Christian vestments. Honorius of Autun, *circa* 1125 A.D., is the first of the writers on ritual who recognizes an episcopal mitre as one of the Christian vestments. He speaks of it as made (*ex bysso*) of linen. In point of fact its use had commenced about the year 1000 A.D., but was not generally recognized for one hundred years later, or even more.

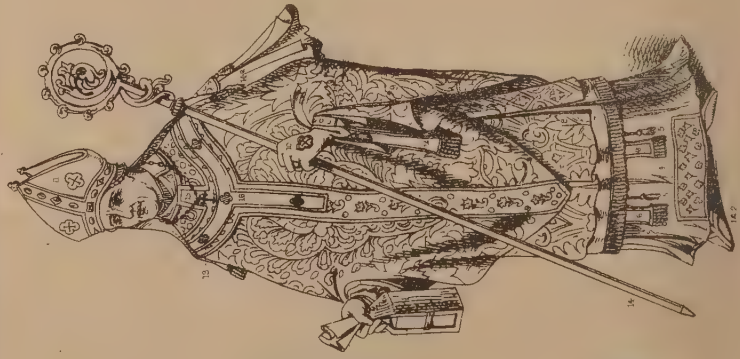
I have dwelt upon this matter partly because it happens to be one of interest at the present time, but chiefly because it will serve as one example, out of many that

- 1 Apparel of Neck
- 2 Orphrey of Chasuble
- 3 Chasuble
- 4 Sleeves of Albe.
- 5 Apparels
- 6 Maniple
- 7 Ends of Stole
- 8 Albe.
- 9 Apparels of Albe
- The Stole is worn by
- Priests crossed in front &
- fastened by a girdle



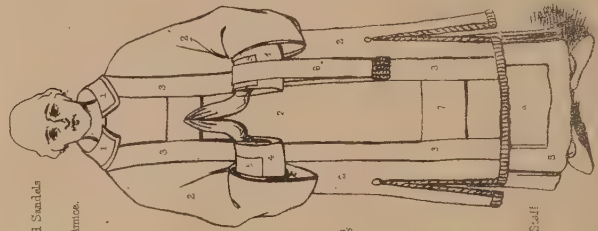
A Priest.

- 1 & 2 The Tibialia and Sandals
- 3 The Humeral or Amice.
- 4 The Albe
- 5 The Cardle
- 6 Stole.
- 7 Tunic
- 8 Dalmatic
- 9 Chasuble
- 10 Gloves and Ring
- 11 Mitre
- 12 Maniple.
- 13 Pastoral Cross
- 14 Pastoral Staff
- 14a Palliolum or Scaff
- 15 Rational
- 16



A Bishop

- 1 Apparel of Neck
- 2 Dalmatic or Tunic
- 3 Orphreys of Dalmatic
- 4. Sleeves of Albe
- 5 Apparels
- 6 Maniple
- 7 Apparel of Dalmatic
- 8. Albe
- 9 Apparel of Albe
- The Stole is worn by
- Deacons over the left should



A Deacon

might be selected, as proving the rapid development and multiplication of vestments in the Western Church between the ninth and the twelfth centuries. Rabanus Maurus at that earlier time knew of but seven vestments, even when sandals and pallium were included in the enumeration. Innocent III., 300 years later, enumerates no less than eighteen in all. He assigns six to presbyters; fifteen in all to bishops; one, the pallium, specially to archbishops; while he reserves two others, the "orale" and the "pectoral cross," as belonging exclusively to the Roman pontiff.

PLATE XIII.

Roman Vestments.

The later development, which, with very slight changes only, has been maintained to the present time in churches subject to the Roman See, will be illustrated by Plate xiii., the last of the series before you. This has been so arranged as to explain itself, and I need not therefore detain you with any lengthened description. I must explain, however, that in little details of ornament and the like, the vestments here represented are what Pugin represented they *should* be in this nineteenth century; correcting, in deference to his antiquarian knowledge and his artistic taste, the debased forms which were prevalent both here and on the Continent early in this century.

GENERAL RESULTS.

Earliest Type of Dress.

And now at last we have reached a point at which we can look back over the long course of eighteen centuries, which we have been traversing, and gather up with a rapid glance the points of main importance (such at least as now we can properly treat) in relation to these "Vestments of the Church," upon which we have been occupied.

The monuments before us divide themselves, as I think you will at once see, into three classes. In the first, including Plates iv. to vii. (Plate ix. is also to be added to the number), we have that solemn dress of the primitive type, which was recognized as "apostolic" both in Eastern and Western art. There is, I readily

admit, no *absolutely* conclusive evidence, that dresses such as those represented, say in the "Ordination" depicted in Plate vi., were really those worn in the highest offices of Christian ministry in apostolic and sub-apostolic times. But what is certain is this, that when the primitive artists, to whom are due the frescoes of the catacombs and the earliest mosaics, wished to depict apostles on the most solemn of all occasions, as gathered, for example, about the Lord, on their "twelve thrones" of subordinate and delegated authority, or as exercising the power of ordination in his name, this was the dress with which they always represented them. And this further, we may add, that the dress is one which exactly tallies with all the allusions to that primitive dress, direct or indirect, to be met with in early Christian writers. And this again is certain, that in the primitive period (of about 400 years) the vestments of the Christian ministry were white. And further, that when first we hear of any distinct regulations on the subject of their material, viz., in the time of Constantine, linen alone is prescribed, to the exclusion of silk and of dyed cloth. "*Sylvester Papa constituit sacrificium altaris non in serico, non in panno tincto celebrari, nisi tantum lineo e terra procreato, sicut corpus Domini Jesu Christi in sindone munda sepultum est.*" (Walafrid Strabo, *De Rebus Eccles.*, cap. 24, and Anastasius Bibliothecarius in *Silvestro*.)

But at the point at which we have now arrived, it may be well, I think, to point out some particulars of more general interest in reference to the subject before you.

Origin of Christian Vestments.

And in the first place it is natural to ask, what was the *earlier history* of those primitive vestments which were before us in the most ancient monuments (Plates iv., v., vi., vii., ix.) ; and, again, what the *earlier history* of those which date, monumentally, from the middle of the sixth century, and of which the representations came under our notice in Plates viii. and x. ? We ourselves, as English Churchmen, have a special interest, direct or indirect, both in one and the other.

And first, to whatever monuments of the first eight centuries we may look whether in literature or in art, it

will be abundantly clear, that the dress of Christian ministry was not modelled upon that of the Levitical priesthood. The time has been when many supposed this to be the case. I believe there are some few who think so still. But I never knew any one who so thought after thoroughly investigating the facts. And with the monuments before you, which speak for themselves, it will be abundantly clear to you all, I think, that a theory of Levitical origin for Christian vestments of the first eight centuries, is utterly untenable.

There is another, and wholly opposite view, which has been generally received hitherto by antiquaries, and by men of learning, whether on the continent or among ourselves. But it is a theory from which the religious instinct of most men is inclined to recoil, and, as it appears to me, not without some reason. That more generally received theory, of which I speak, is this. It is said that the dress worn in the highest offices of Christian ministry was identical with that worn in common life by people of every class, whether heathens or Christians, in the apostolic age. And some have gone yet further, and said (or at least have been understood to say), that this dress was one worn more particularly by peasants,³⁷ and others of the lowest class, as a protection against the weather.

What shall we say to this? I think you will agree with me that a religious instinct of natural reverence tells us, that such a statement as this *cannot* truly represent the facts. And I will add that we should do right in giving weight to this instinctive feeling, and in seeking somewhat further for such a solution, as will satisfy at once the requirements of historical truth, and the intuitions of natural reverence.

Such a solution at once presents itself, when we remind ourselves of a fact which, as far as I know, none of the many writers on vestimentary subjects have hitherto

³⁷ This is both true and untrue. It is true that the name *casula*, which in the third century (certainly) and probably for some considerable time, both before and after, was assigned to the characteristic dress of Italian peasants, was the name employed from the *ninth* century onward, as *synonymous* with *planeta*, the older name for the dress of ministry. But it is untrue that the same vestment was *at one and the same time* the characteristic out-door dress of peasants, and the distinctive badge of Christian ministry. See on the history of the *casula*, Appendix C of the "*Vestiarium Christianum*," and pp. lx. to lxvii. of the Introduction.

brought to bear upon the question of which we are now speaking. The fact to which I allude is this. Throughout the Roman empire there was, in the apostolic age, and had been both in East and West for centuries before, a particular type of dress, and a special colour, which was recognized by all men as consecrated, so to speak, to occasions of solemn festivity or of stately ceremonial; consecrated, I may add, more particularly to occasions of religious observance. Of this type of dress I have already spoken, when describing Plate i. of the series before you. After full investigation of all the passages in ancient writers that bear directly or indirectly upon the question, and after reading most, if not all, that has been written on the subject by authors of chief repute in modern times, my own belief is, that the actual form of dress worn in Christian ministry for the first three hundred years or thereabouts in Palestine, in Asia Minor, and in Italy, was that which you have seen represented again and again in early monuments in Plates iv., v., vi., vii., ix. These would be known as *chiton* and *himation* in the East; as *tunica* and *pallium*³⁸ in the West. Add to this the fact, which is absolutely certain, that in the Primitive Church white was regarded ["Vest. Christ.," p. xxx., *sqq.* and Appendix A] as specially appropriate to the highest offices of Christian ministry. And with these considerations before us, we shall see, I think, at once,

³⁸ In chapter 11 of the "*Vestiarium Christianum*" I have adduced a great number of passages to show what were the associations connected with the *toga* in the first and second centuries of our era. I added, that what was true of the *toga*, at Rome, would apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the *pallium* (or "*himation*") in those parts of the Roman empire where Greek usage prevailed. I refrained (feeling the matter to be doubtful) from expressing an opinion that the *toga* was actually used at Rome in offices of Christian ministry. But I am free to confess that I inclined so to think, and I found myself confirmed in so thinking by a man of great learning, the Jesuit Sirmondus. ["Vest. Christ.," p. 47.] But on further reflection, and with the arguments of others (criticising my book) to help me, I am inclined to think that the *pallium*, not the *toga*, was the super-vestment really used, at Rome as elsewhere. Christianity at Rome, in the earliest ages, was *Greek* in all its associations, as every one knows who has studied the subject. In the first and second centuries of our era, the *toga*, on occasions of high ceremonial, would be the symbol of *Romanism*, i.e., of adherence to the old ideas and habits which had prevailed in Rome for centuries. The *pallium*, on the other hand, was more or less the symbol of "*Græcism*," and of Greek Christianity *inter alia*. Herein will be found the key to that difficult treatise the "*Pro Pallio*" of Tertullian.

how to reconcile the seemingly conflicting claims of historical truth with the instincts of religious men. These claims are no longer conflicting, as soon as we give due weight to the fact, that a dress such as that represented in those earlier Christian monuments, now before you, was one which, by its shape and colour, was marked out in the eyes of all men as being proper to occasions of holy festivity, or of solemn assemblage in the presence of God. It was in one sense a dress of common life ; but in another sense it was a dress universally regarded as proper to religious use.

Origin of the second type of Ministering Vestments.

What I have now said applies only to that oldest type of sacred dress represented in the earliest monuments. But we have already seen that in monuments dating from the middle of the sixth century onwards, both in East and West, we find clear evidence of a change made in what I have throughout called the "super-vestments" of Christian ministry. Those monuments again (especially those at Byzantium) are such as imply, that the artists and ecclesiastics of that day believed, that the dress of their own day had long been received in the Church. This super-vestment then of the second age, which was a bell-shaped vestment, known as a planeta in the West, and a phenolion in the East, came into general use in West and East, as a sacred vestment for bishops and priests, at some indefinite period before the close of the fifth century. In no other respect was there any change of importance till the ninth century, save that from the close of the sixth century onwards there are indications, that in some parts of the Church, as at Ravenna and at Rome, there was a tendency to greater richness of ornament on the part of the higher order among the clergy.

Was there any special reason why this particular dress should be adopted? The silence of all writers on the subject till after the close of the eighth century, and the fact that both planeta and phenolion were worn by laymen as well as by ecclesiastics, give the strongest reason for thinking that, in adopting this new form of super-vestment, the Church did but adapt herself to a change, which was generally made throughout the Roman world at an

early period of the Christian era. The toga, from its cumbrousness, and great inconvenience, had been discontinued, save as an exceptional dress of ceremony, from the time of Augustus. And a far more convenient garment, like in shape to the planeta, but for the most part of rougher material, after asserting its supremacy in country districts generally, had gradually won its way, step by step, into the city itself, against manifold imperial prohibitions; till at last, in the year 438 A.D., it was formally recognized by the Theodosian Code (published simultaneously for both East and West) as the proper undress garment to be worn at Rome even by senators. This garment was known as a *pænula*.

Now, we nowhere find any trace of the *pænula* itself, under that name, being adopted as a sacred vestment. But we do find that a garment like in shape to the *pænula*,³⁹ but called *planeta*,⁴⁰ was so adopted. And this *planeta* we know, from early evidence, such as that of Cassianus (*circ.* 418 A.D.) and Nolanus (*circ.* 533 A.D.), was a better kind of super-vestment, such as was too costly to be fit for monks,⁴¹ but was an ordinary out-door dress for men of distinction (*nobiles*).⁴² Even as late as St. Gregory's time (*circ.* 600 A.D.) it was still worn by laymen of distinction as well as by the higher ecclesiastics; and by these again in out-door use as well as in church.⁴³

From all these facts we may infer, that either in the fifth century, or possibly at some yet earlier date, the Western Church adopted a white *planeta*, the Eastern Churches a white *phenolion*, as the super-vestments for bishops and priests, at times of holy ministration. This was but carrying out in principle, under changed circumstances, what had been done at an earlier period, in the adoption of that still older type of dress, which we have already noticed.

³⁹ See the history of the "*pænula*" in "*Vest. Christ.*," p. lx., lxii. and in Appendix C (*ibid.*), p. 192, *seq.*

⁴⁰ "*Codex Theodosianus*," fol. Ritter, Lipsie, 1741; Liber i. De habitu, quoted and commented on "*Vest. Christ.*," Appendix C, p. 197.

⁴¹ "*Cassianus de habitu Monachorum*," lib. i., cap. 7, quoted in "*Vest. Christ.*," p. 202 [Appendix C, No. 38].

⁴² Vita S. Fulgentii apud Acta Sanctorum; tom. i., Januar., p. 43 ["*Vest. Christ.*," Appendix C, No. 39].

⁴³ Joannis Diaconi Vita D. Gregorii," lib. iv., cap. 83 ["*Vest. Christ.*," Appendix C, No. 40].

Late Mediæval Vestments.

Change of feeling on the subject from the Ninth Century onwards.

I have already occupied your time so long, that I feel bound to hasten towards a conclusion. Yet one matter of interest to ourselves I may point to in passing, viz., the evidence afforded by these monuments to the marked contrast which exists between the vestiary ideas current in the early Church, and those which prevailed in the Middle Ages, and have since then been retained by many. It would be difficult to find a contrast more complete than is presented by the simple attire attributed to apostles or to primitive bishops in early Christian monuments, and the vestments resplendent with jewels and gold, which are now in many parts of the Christian Church thought proper to that office.

The evidence of primitive art is here in exact accordance with that of primitive fathers. Late mediæval and not a few modern writers, speak as though the more gorgeous be the dress assumed by Christian priests, the higher the honour thereby paid to Christ. But ideas the very opposite of these were prevalent⁴⁴ in the Church for many centuries. Take as an example the language of the "*Liber Sacramentorum*"⁴⁵ of St. Gregory the Great. There is a prayer in the office for the consecration of a bishop, in which reference is made to the splendour of the older Levitical vestments, in the following terms:—

"The vesture of that older priesthood is with us an adornment of the heart; and the glory of them that are chief in priesthood, is to us no longer commended by the beauty of vestments, but by a splendour that is of the soul. . . . And, therefore, Lord, do we pray for such grace to

⁴⁴ A curious instance of this contrast is afforded by the usage noticed by Isidore of Pelusium. He refers to the fact that our Lord, as the Divine Word, was regarded as *specially present* at the reading of the gospel (in church); and accordingly that the bishop then stood up and *laid aside* the special symbol of his own pastoral office in reverence for Him who is the Chief Shepherd over all. This was in accordance with a very generally received idea, that the symbols of *delegated office* should be laid aside in the actual presence of Him from whom that delegation has been received. See the passage of St. Isidore quoted in "*Vest. Christ.*," p. 50.

⁴⁵ Edited by Hugo Menardus, 4^e. Paris, 1642, p. 239 [*"Vest. Christ.,"* p. li., note 1].

be bestowed on this thy servant, whom thou hast called to office of highest priesthood unto Thee, that what those former vestments signified by the brightness of gold, and the brilliancy of jewels, and the many colours of manifold embroidery, may shine forth now in the character and the good works of this thy servant."

And if we come nearer home we may hear our own Bede⁴⁶ (early in the eighth century) speaking precisely to the same effect:—

"The ordination and the vesture of them that ministered in the tabernacle are in this wise rightly applicable to the priesthood of the Church, that the outward splendour which in their case shone brightly in ornamented vestments, shall now, spiritually understood, be inwardly conspicuous, deep seated in the hearts of them who serve in holy ministry to God—and that in the acts (good works) of these our Christian priests there should be an outward glory also, a glory beyond what is to be seen in the good works of the faithful generally."

Passages⁴⁷ to similar effect might be greatly multiplied, if need were, from writers both in East and West, during the first seven or eight centuries of our era. But enough has been already said, to enable you to judge of the accuracy of such statements as you may have seen very confidently put forth of late, as to "splendid vestments" of the richest materials, and the most costly decoration, having been adopted by the Church from the earliest times; or that, "apart from the vestments" (meaning such as are now worn in the Roman Church), "the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist has never been adequately set forth," and other such assertions. And the reason of my dwelling more particularly on this matter is this, that in much more important points than

⁴⁶ "De Tabernac." lib. iii., cap. 11 ["Vest. Christ.," p. 78].

⁴⁷ See for the time of Constantine ("the sacrifice of the altar to be celebrated not in garments of silk, or of dyed cloth, but of linen only,") "Vestiarium Christianum," p. 107; for a yet earlier time in the East, St. Clement Alex., *ibid.*, Appendix A, p. 184; for the fifth century, the Sermon *De Uno Legislatore* (attributed to St. Chrysostom), *ibid.*, p. 51; for the sixth, the description given by Fortunatus of St. Germanus of Paris, *ibid.*, p. li.; for the eighth, the "Letter of St. Boniface (Winifred of Crediton) to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury," *ibid.*, note 209, p. 107; for the ninth, the *Parænesis ad Episcopos* of Theodulf of Orleans, *ibid.*, Appendix B, p. 191.

the colour, or the shape, or the names, of particular vestments, we of this day need to be reminded, that no mode of arguing can be more unsound than that of assuming, as many now-a-days do assume, that the Doctrine or the Ritual of the Mediæval Latin Church is a safe guide to the Doctrine and the Ritual of the Church Primitive and Catholic—assume, in other words, that “Catholic” and “Mediæval” are mutually convertible terms.

Let us escape now, however, from these lower levels, at which our retrospect of the past is marred by thoughts of the divisions of the Church, and the unhappy controversies of the passing hour. Let us look back to more primitive ages, and mark the general principles upon which men then acted in this matter of ministering dress, and apply those principles freely to the needs of our own day, as the Church of old did to the needs that then were. This is, if I mistake not, the true spirit which should animate us in our study of antiquity, especially of Christian antiquity. We should investigate the records of the past with no prepossessions such as shall hinder us from ascertaining and stating the truth and the whole truth, whether it be such as we ourselves should wish it to be or no. And whether in seeking for knowledge or in using it when attained, our reverence for the past, and for all that it had of good and great, should be tempered with a thankful recognition of what is good and great in these our own days. Good and great, at least, is the work that lies before us; our own fault if we learn not something of true goodness and of true greatness, in bearing our part, as God shall enable us, in ennobling work for Him. And if we must have new interpretations of old rules, or new rules in place of old ones, in matters relating to the vestments of the Church, let us deal with these questions in the same spirit in which the Church dealt with them in the days of her youthful strength. Then questions of the dress that her ministers should wear were determined by thought of the work they had to do for God, and of the true dignity thereto pertaining. There was no desire for those outward splendours of “brightness of gold, and brilliancy of jewels, and the many colours of manifold embroidery.” What they desired, and what they did, was, to mark out by simple

indications, such as all men could understand, those diversities of orders in the Church which had been by Divine ordinance from the first; and to recognize, also, what we, thank God, are recognizing more and more, from year to year, that the work to be done in the body of Christ is not a work to be done by the threefold order of the ministry *alone*; that there are works on Christ's behalf, and gifts from God enabling to such work, for laymen as well as for clergy, for the young as well as for the old, for rich and poor, for the learned and unlearned together. Vestments, then, there were, not of silk nor of dyed cloth, but of linen only,⁴⁸ which were regarded as proper to offices of ministry for Christ. For men had learnt, on a higher than human authority, that white linen is a type of the righteousness of the saints; and they deemed that in the righteousness which is from Christ lies the true splendour⁴⁹ of them who speak on behalf of the Church unto God, on behalf of God unto the Church. Insignia there were for the Bishop; the oldest of them all being the Book of the Gospels, "the true evangelical tiara," as one said of old time. "In the consecration of bishops⁵⁰ and of priests (St. Chrysostom writes),⁵¹ the gospel of Christ is laid upon their heads, that he who is ordained may learn, that he then receiveth the true tiara of the gospel; and may learn this also, that though he be head of all, yet doth he act in subjection to God's laws; though he be ruler of all, yet is he, too, under rule to the law; though in all things a setter forth of the Word, yet himself to that Word in subjection." And yet another symbol they had, whether the woollen omophorion⁵² of Eastern bishops, or the pastoral staff⁵³ common in the West, which set forth the office of the bishop as having charge, under the Chief

⁴⁸ So Pope Sylvester ordained in the time of Constantine.

⁴⁹ See the passages from the Sacramentary of St. Gregory and from Bede, quoted in Appendix A.

⁵⁰ τῶν ἱερέων, a term which, like *sacerdos*, is constantly used in early writers in speaking of bishops. I have assumed that here the word is inclusive of both.

⁵¹ In the Sermon "De uno Legislatore." It is not certain whether it is really St. Chrysostom's. See "Vest. Christ.," p. 51, note 80.

⁵² For this symbolism of the episcopal omophorion, see St. Isidore of Pelusium, quoted "Vest. Christ.," p. 50.

⁵³ See "Vest. Christ.," p. 222. No. 15.

Shepherd, of that flock of Christ which had been committed to him. And the priest, too, had a vestment of greater dignity, the planeta, which distinguished his office from that of a deacon. The deacon, again, while in common with others of inferior rank, he had a dress which marked him out for offices of *active ministration* (i.e., a short alb worn without any cumbrous super-vestment), was himself distinguished (by the orarium, or stole, worn over one shoulder) from the subdeacon, from the Cantores (singing men and choristers), and other such. And, when after the "Peace of Constantine," the body politic of the Church developed her outward organization in accordance with that form, which, under the providence of God, had already been developed in the two great empires of Rome and Constantinople—when her dioceses were gathered up into provinces, and her provinces into patriarchates—appropriate designations were found, as soon as convenience required them, by which these various conventional priorities of rank might be expressed⁵⁴ in outward symbol.

Upon principles such as these of the early Church, so far as they may be applicable to our own times, we may gladly act, whenever need shall require; nay, we have already unconsciously so acted, when, for example, we have clad our Cantores, our singing men, and choristers, in a white dress, which marked them out as having a special part in the services of the Church. And wherever this has been done, there also, by a kind of necessity, have the clergy themselves acted upon a rule which is as old as, nay, older than the Council of Laodicea⁵⁵ (A.D. 327), early in the fourth century, that of wearing a distinctive vestment, such as then was called (as in the East it still is) an orarium, or scarf, and among

⁵⁴ The Pallium served, as is well known, to the designation of Metropolitan rank in the West; though the corresponding vestment, the Omophorion, was worn by all bishops in the East. Even in the West it was sometimes bestowed on other than archbishops. Another symbol was the archbishop's cross or crozier (see Plate VIII. for an early example). In the case of a patriarch, his cross (see Plate XI.), had *two* transverse bars. The Roman See in later times claims *three* such, by way of pre-eminence.

⁵⁵ Hardvin. Concil., tom. i. p. 786. Canons xxiii. and xxiv. speak of the orarium as a well-known vestment, not *instituting* its use but regulating it, by saying that it is not to be worn by subdeacons (ὕπηρετῇ), readers, or chanters.

ourselves is known either as scarf or stole, as the case may be.

In one word I would say, that there was in old times, and there may be, nay is, in these our days, a noble way of dealing with things ignoble in themselves. That way will not be such (so I for one am bold to say), as some would fain have us believe, that of seeking to do honour to Christ, or to His most holy ordinances, by multiplying and enriching the vestments of them that minister to Him; by contending with all the earnestness that a question of the faith might inspire, for a "maniple" to be worn by one, or a "dalmatic" by another; for purple stoles or for white, for red chasubles or for green. What we do need, and greatly need, is such a clear determination of our own Church's rule in these matters, as shall leave us of the clergy without excuse, if we leave the Word of God to quarrel over the proper colour of a chasuble, or the most orthodox shape of a surplice; or devote time, which God has given us for nobler ends, to fastening gilt crosses on to satin stoles. We do need such a rule as shall save us from the scandal of proclaiming ourselves partizans of one school or of another, by the very garb we wear in God's house, and in administering that sacrament which should be to us the very bond of peace. And greatly do we need (I may fitly add on this occasion) in those who aspire to lead their fellow-churchmen to a higher knowledge of the truth, that fuller, deeper, more exact knowledge of times past, which it is the special province of archæological study to promote; and in the pursuit of which (you will bear me out in what I say), we may find an ever fresh delight, and reap an ever more abundant reward.

This Lecture as now printed, contains the substance, rather than the exact words, of what was actually delivered. Owing to the pressure of other work, the Lecture had not been committed to writing; and now, at an interval of six months or more, the writer, having no notes of any kind to assist his memory, can only approximately reproduce what was actually said at the time.

APPENDIX A.

SIMPLICITY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN VESTMENTS.

§ 1. Introductory.—§§ 2 to 4. St. Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, witnesses of prevailing feeling in the second century.—§ 5. Mediæval and modern arguments from Scripture, contrasted with that of St. Clement.—§ 6. Regulations of Sylvester, Bp. of Rome in the time of Constantine.—§ 7. Language of St. Jerome, speaking of white vestments of Holy Ministry.—§§ 8, 9. Language of St. Chrysostom, or of one contemporary with him.—§ 10. Language of St. Gregory's Sacramentary, and § 11. of Venerable Bede.—§ 12. Indications of change, from primitive usage, in the sixth century.—§ 13. Exemplified in some of the Mosaics at Ravenna.—§ 14. Strong condemnation of these new fashions expressed by St. Boniface.—§ 15. Meaning of his words considered.—§ 16. General result of the above.—§§ 17 to 22. Passages from the "Acta Sanctorum," and from the Apostolical Constitutions, which have been thought to prove conclusions contradictory to that here maintained.—23. General result of all the foregoing.

Opinions the most contradictory have of late years been maintained as to the character of the Vestments of the Church in primitive times, in respect of material, colour, and ornamentation.

It may be well therefore to collect here, and to set before the reader, the evidence available for judgment. I class this evidence under two heads. The first contains all such authorities as bear out the view expressed in this Lecture; the second, two or three passages which have lately been alleged as conclusive reasons for a diametrically opposite conclusion.

I. *Simplicity of Primitive Vestments.*

§ 2. St. Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, at the close of the second century, must have known as well as any two men that can be named, what were the customs of the Church, in East and West respectively, at the time they wrote. And what is said by one and the other, on the subject of brilliant colours in dress, is absolutely inconsistent with the hypothesis, that they could have known of any such colours being worn in any vesture of Holy Ministry in the Church. All Tertullian's language on the subject is very illogical, but it will serve as well as better reasoning, to prove what is now asserted. Speaking of these brilliant colours as worn in ordinary dress, he says (*De Habitu Muliebris*, cap. 8), "What can there be rightly to be honoured in garments that are adulterated by unrighteous colours? Nothing is pleasing to

God save that which He himself has created. And manifestly He could, if He had so willed, have created sheep with purple or with sky-blue (*hyacinthinas*) fleeces. If this be so, it follows, that having the power, yet He willed not that so it should be. How then can it be allowable for us to contrive that which God willed not to be¹?"

In another passage of the same treatise, we may trace a similar feeling, mixed up with a special dislike of the *Roman Church*, such as was characteristic of his later writings. "That mighty Power (*valida civitas*) which sitteth exalted upon the Seven Hills, and over many waters, when designated as a Harlot by the Lord, with what dress, corresponding to this reproach, is she set forth? Truly it is in purple that she sits, with scarlet and gold and precious stones."

§ 3. The language of Clement of Alexandria, to a similar effect, is even stronger than that of Tertullian. The second and third books of the "*Paidagogos*" abound with examples to the purpose. Dyed garments, coloured like unto flowers, are in his eyes fit only for women that are without modesty,² and for men³ that are without manhood. Garments such as these "*are fit only for Bacchic rites, and for the mummeries of heathen priests*. Purple too, and silver tissues, are '*for tragedy players, not for real life*,' as the comic poet writes. Whereas the life of us Christian folk should be anything rather than a vain pomp."⁴

§ 4. In another passage he had spoken in strong condemnation of women who wore any such gaudy colours. And he anticipates an objection which might be made in reference to the language of Holy Scripture, in speaking of the Spiritual Bride (the Church, according to generally received interpretation). "What though the Word of God, by the mouth of David, speaketh in Psalm concerning the Lord saying, '*Kings' daughters were among thy honourable women: on thy right hand did stand the Queen in a vesture of gold, and with garments fringed with gold was she compassed about*.' In this he would have us to understand not raiment of luxurious softness, but that which is wrought of faith, the incorruptible adornment of them that have received mercy, the adornment of the

¹ *Quis est vestium honor justus de adulterio colorum injustorum? Non placet Deo quod non ipse produxit, nisi si* (See "*Vest. Christ.*" Note 399) *non potuit purpureas et hyacinthinas oves nasci jubere. Si potuit, ergo jam noluit. Quod Deus noluit, utique non licet fingi.* For the passage which follows, see "*Vest. Christ.*" p. 186.

² *Clem. Alex. Opera.* [Potter, 2 voll. fol. Oxon. 1715.] Tom. i. p. 233. "*Vest. Christ.*" Appendix A. No. 36.

³ *Ibid.* p. 208. "*Vest. Christ.*" Appendix A. No. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 235. "*Vest. Christ.*" App. A. No. 39.

Church, wherein Jesus, the guileless One, shineth out as gold, and the fringes, made of gold, are the Elect.”⁵

§ 5. It affords a suggestive illustration of the changed feeling in this respect, in writers of the ninth century, as compared with those of the second, that Amalarius (“Vest. Christ.” p. 99), thinks that this vesture of gold prophesied of in the Psalm, was a Dalmatic! And, I may add, that a correspondent of *The Guardian*, some time since, in maintaining a view directly opposed to that of the present writer, as to the character of vestments worn in the primitive ages of the Church, made use of this very verse, in the way which St. Clement anticipated as possible, only applying it, not of course to the dress of women, but to the ministering dress of the clergy.

§ 6. Passing on now to the beginning of the fourth century, we find a remarkable regulation recorded of Pope Sylvester,⁶ the contemporary of Constantine. Walafrid Strabo,⁷ and Anastasius the Librarian, both tell us, that this Bishop made a regulation, *that the sacrifice of the altar should be celebrated, not in silk, nor in dyed cloth, but in linen only, which is produced from out of the earth,*⁸ *just as the Body of the Lord Jesus Christ was buried in clean linen.*” Walafrid, after quoting these words, goes on to say: “For the sacerdotal vestments” (he writes early in the ninth century), “have grown, by successive accretions, to that degree of ornament, which is now observed. For in the first ages of the Church Mass was performed in the garments of ordinary life, as is reported to be done, even to this day, in some parts of the East.”⁹

§ 7. About the close of the same century, St. Jerome is defending the general practice of Christian people against Pelagius, who thought all splendour of dress or ornament (whether for clergy or laity) offensive to God. And the only

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 246. “Vest. Christ.” App. A. No. 40.

⁶ Bishop of Rome from 314 to 335 A.D.

⁷ *De Rebus Eccles. cap. 24.* [“Vest. Christ.” p. 107.]

⁸ *From out of the earth.* He implies a contrast with the *animal* origin (tainted, as it was thought, with sin and death), of *woollen* garments. Compare the words of St. Jerome (Epist. ad Fabiolam) “Quum parati ad indumentum Christi *tunicas pelliceas deposuerimus, tunc induemur veste lineæ nihil in se mortis habente, sed tota candida.*” He, again, had been anticipated by Philo (*Liber de Somniis*, p. 597. Opera Fol. Paris, 1640). Linen, he says, cometh not of anything subject unto death, ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀποθησκόντων γίγνεται.

⁹ A recent writer in the *Church Times*, interprets the “celebrating the sacrifice of the Altar . . . in linen only,” of a “corporeal” with which the Holy Elements were covered. He even thought it “incredible,” that any other interpretation should have been given. I mention this that the reader may know that there is a way of escape from the plain meaning of this passage, if he wishes for one.

'splendour' that St. Jerome has to defend, in respect of ecclesiastical vestments, is indicated by what he says in the course of his reply. "I would fain know," he says, "what offence there would be against God in my wearing a somewhat handsome¹⁰ tunic; or if, *in the administration of the holy things (sacrificiorum) bishop, priest, and deacon, and the other officers of the Church, come forward dressed in white garments.*"

§ 8. About the same time St. Chrysostom, or whoever was the author of the Homily, *De Uno Legislatore*,¹¹ attributed to him ("Vest. Christ." note 80), writes as follows concerning the Levitical Vestments. After enumerating the Vestments of the High Priest, he goes on to say: "In all this, that which is outwardly fashioned is one, other that which thereby is to be understood. For God, without doubt, hath no delight in blue and purple and scarlet and Byssus.¹² That for which God looketh, is purity of heart. And in the embodiment of these colours He setteth forth to us, as in a picture, the semblance of the diverse virtues. *For if God had really pleasure in those vestments of glory, why did He not clothe Moses therewith, before He so clothed Aaron?* But Moses was himself without that vesture, and yet clothed he therewith the priests. Moses was not washed with water, and yet did he wash them. He was not anointed with oil, yet did he anoint them. He wore not a priestly vesture, yet did he put that vesture on the priests; *that thou thereby mightest learn, that to him that is perfect virtue sufficeth for all adornment.*"

§ 9. The reader will, I think, agree with me in thinking, that language such as this is utterly inconsistent with any belief, on the part of the author of that homily, that gorgeous vestments, rich in colour and ornamentation, after the fashion of the dress of Jewish high priesthood, were the proper vesture of Christian ministry, and had been so ordained from the time of the apostles onward.

§ 10. Returning now to the West, we have a remarkable testimony to the general feeling of the early Church upon this subject, in the office used in the sixth century (and probably for long time before), at the consecration of bishops. In the earliest MS. of the *Liber Sacramentorum* of St. Gregory the Great, that edited by Hugo Menardus,¹³ there is an allusion

¹⁰ *Mundiores*: See "Vest. Christ." Note 57 (p. 34).

¹¹ *Adversus Pelagianos*. Lib. i. Vol. iv. p. 502. Ed. Benedict. ["Vest. Christ." p. 34.]

¹² Quoted in full "Vest. Christ." p. 51. For the word *Byssus*, meaning sometimes "fine linen," sometimes "white" as a colour, see "Vest. Christ." Note 5 (p. 2) and 122 (p. 72).

¹³ D. Gregorii Papæ Sacramentorum Liber. 4to. Paris, 1642. ["Vest. Christ." Introduction, Note 4, p. li.

(p. 239) to the Levitical Vestments in terms even more marked than those last quoted. "The vesture of that older priesthood is with us an adornment of the heart, *and the glory of them that are chief in priesthood is to us no longer commended by the beauty of vestments, but by a splendour that is of the soul.*"¹⁴ . . . And therefore, Lord, do we pray for such grace to be bestowed upon this Thy servant, whom Thou hast called to office of highest priesthood unto Thee, that what those former vestments signified by the brightness of gold, and the brilliancy of jewels, and the many colours (*varietas*) of manifold embroidery, may shine forth now in the character, and the good works of Thy servant."

Such was in early ages of the Church the thought of contrast suggested between the ornate vestments of Levitical Priesthood, and the simple, yet dignified, dress customarily worn by those who ministered in the Church of Christ.

§ 11. Nearly to the same effect is the language of our own Bede,¹⁵ about the close of the seventh century,¹⁶ or early in the eighth. He says that, "the Ordination, and the Vesture, of them that ministered in the Tabernacle, is in this wise rightly applicable to the Priesthood of the Church, that *the outward splendour, which in their case shone brightly in ornamented vestments, shall now, spiritually understood, be inwardly conspicuous, deep-seated in the hearts of them who serve in holy ministry to God.*"¹⁷ And, that in the acts (good works) of these our Christian priests, there should be an outward glory also, a glory beyond what is to be seen in the good works of the faithful generally."

§ 12. While such was the traditional language of the Church, and of her worthiest representatives, such as St. Gregory and our own Bede, even as late as the sixth and seventh centaries, a change in actual practice was gradually making its way, both in the secular and the ministering dress of ecclesiastics in some parts of the Church.

¹⁴ Compare the language of Fortunatus (sixth century) in his description of St. Germanus, Bishop of Paris. ["Vest. Christ." Introd. p. li.] *Nonsim incedit, velut alter Aaron, non de veste nitens, sed pietate placens. Non lapides, coccus, clarum aurum, purpura, byssus, Exornant humeros, sed micat alma fides.* And to the same effect the *Parænesis ad Episcopos* of Theodulph, Bishop of Orleans (apud Sirmondi Opera, Tom. ii. p. 1106), quoted and commented on in "Vest. Christ." Appendix B. p. 191.

¹⁵ De Tabernaculo, lib. iii., cap. 11. ["Vest. Christ." p. 78. See Note 105.]

¹⁶ Bede was born A.D. 673, and died A.D. 735.

¹⁷ *Ut omne, quod illic in ornatu vestium clarum extrinsecus fulgebat, hoc intellectum spiritudliter in ipsis sacerdotum* ["Vest. Christ." Note 61.] *mentibus altum intus emineat.*

§ 13. The earliest indication of this, in monuments of art, is afforded by a comparison of the dress attributed to Archbishop Maximian in the mosaic figured in Plate viii. above, with that of one of his successors, Ecclesius, whose effigy¹⁸ appears on the walls of the same Church (that of St. Vitalis at Ravenna). There is a remarkable difference¹⁹ between the two. It is to be regretted that there are no means of determining precisely the date at which this last mosaic (that of Ecclesius) was executed. It is, however, by no means improbable that in imperial cities, such as Rome and Constantinople, and cities that were all but imperial, such as Ravenna, a somewhat richer style of dress for the highest ecclesiastics, may have come into use at an even earlier period than that of Maximian. The seeming inconsistency between this hypothesis, and the occurrence of language such as that quoted above from St. Gregory's Sacramentary, and other sources, is easily explained, on the supposition, that these latter represent the general traditions of the yet earlier Church, before the introduction of the more splendid dresses which gradually found their way into use.

§ 14. The most remarkable instance of what most men would deem an even exaggerated expression of the older feeling on the subject, worded in the spirit of St. Clement of Alexandria, and of Tertullian, already quoted, is contained in a letter of St. Boniface (Winifred of Crediton) to Cuthbert, then Archbishop of Canterbury. St. Boniface was a contemporary of Bede, having been consecrated *Episcopus Germanorum* by Pope Gregory II., in the year 725. "Spare no pains" (so he writes to the Archbishop) "in checking that superstition of vestments, hateful as it is to God. These ornamented vestments (ornamented as these men deem, but mere deformity as others hold), with their broad bands, and likenesses of worms,²⁰ have been sent across by Antichrist,

¹⁸ The two are figured, side by side, by Dr. Rock: "Church of Our Fathers," vol. i. p. 319.

¹⁹ It is not impossible however (I myself incline to the opinion), that Maximian is represented in a *processional* dress only; Ecclesius in that of Holy Ministry. This would account for many of the peculiarities observable in these mosaics.

²⁰ *Latissimis clavis et vermium imaginibus clavata*. The expression "*vermium imaginibus*" is a very obscure one. I can only conjecture that it may refer to a peculiar ornament of some Dalmatics, "little branches," Dr. Rock calls them, diverging from the perpendicular stripe (*clavus*), which hung from the shoulder to the lower edge of the garment. Possibly, however, the word *vermium* may have reference to the colour, "*vermilion*," as we still call it, prepared from the "kermes" dye. Compare Alcuini Lib. de Div. Off., *cinguli genus ex bysso retorta, hyacintho, purpura ac vermiculo*.

and are precursors of his advent. These trappings for the body, indicative of a bare and unclothed soul, are proofs of arrogance, and pride, and luxury, and vanity. And it is of these that the word of wisdom is spoken: "Arrogance, and pride, and a crooked way, and a double tongue, are an abomination unto Me."²¹

§ 15. The way in which the writer mentions the introduction of these "superstitious" vestments "within the cloisters of monasteries," of their tending to impurity of life among the young, to neglect of reading and of prayer, makes it difficult to suppose that his language can refer only to some newly imported fashion of ministering dress. And yet his reference to "*superstitio*," as involved in them, seems clearly to imply some such reference. Coupling this with other evidence we may probably conclude, that in his time there had been a great development of external splendour in ecclesiastical dress, both secular and ministerial, and that this had been defended on some assumed ground²² of religion, which St. Boniface regarded as superstitious.

§ 16. Taking all these passages together, we can hardly fail to see, that their general result is strongly to confirm the opinion of those, who hold that the dress of Christian ministry, for the first five hundred years, or thereabout, was characterized by a remarkable simplicity, and contrasted, in this respect, with the gorgeous colours and costly jewels of the "robes of glory," occasionally worn by the Jewish high priest. Let us see now what can be alleged on the other side.

Passages which have been thought to indicate splendour of colouring and of ornament in the primitive dress of Christian ministry.

§ 17. The passages here to be quoted are very few, and need not detain us long.

The first in date (or at least of supposed date), is a passage from the "*Testamentum S. Perpetui Episcopi*," the will of S. Perpetuus, Bishop of Tours,† A.D. 461, given in his life in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Aprilis, tom. i. p. 750). It is referred to, and correctly quoted by Dr. Rock ("Church of our Fathers," vol. i. p. 316); and has recently been referred

²¹ This letter of St. Boniface will be found in "Spelman's Concilia" (fol. London, 1639), p. 241. The original of the passage above quoted is given in "Vest. Christ.," p. 107, note 209.

²² Such as that of Amalarius, thinking (as already quoted) that the Dalmatic is the identical vestment prophesied of in Psalm xlv., "*Adstitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate*." (De Eccl. Off., lib. ii. cap. 21, quoted in "Vest. Christ.," p. 99.)

to, and incorrectly quoted, in a Church newspaper. The words are—" *Amalario . . . presbytero capsulam unam communem de serico.*" Dr. Rock (as does the writer just referred to) thinks that this *capsula communis de serico* is an ordinary chasuble for every-day use. And this being of silk, the later writer argues as follows:—If the *ordinary* chasuble was of silk, in the fifth century—silk, which was rare and costly, and only imported from the East—what a convincing proof is here of the splendour that must have been characteristic of Christian vestments generally!

§ 18. The argument abounds with mistakes from beginning to end. It is a mistake, to begin with, to assume, that every document that you meet with in these legendary "Lives of the Saints" may be trusted as authentic documents dating from the time to which, in the course of the story, they may be referred. It is a mistake, too, to assume, that *capsula*²³ is certainly the same word as *casula*. That this last word is a diminutive of *casa*, not of *capsa*, all authors are agreed, from Isidore of Seville to the present time. These writers *may* all be wrong, but I own I do not think they are. And as we know that *capsa* meant the *hood* of a *casula*, so we may not improbably conclude, were it only on etymological grounds, that *capsula* is a small hood or a cap, not a chasuble. But further there is no proof whatever that in the fifth century the word *casula* was ever used of any vestment for holy ministry. There is, on the other hand, abundant proof²⁴ that it was used of a garment *for out-door use*, worn by laymen and by monks as well as by the clergy; by peasants and artisans, as well as by bishops and archbishops. "*Casulæ*" of rich materials were used by the latter as processional dresses. So that even if this *capsula de serico* meant a silk "*casula*," there would be here no proof whatever that it was a chasuble to be worn in church.

Under these circumstances, it is not of great importance to our present inquiry to determine whether the will of St. Perpetuus is a genuine document or not.

§ 19. The next passage alleged is very much more to the purpose, if genuine, and would prove that the development of splendour in Church dress at the close of the sixth century was even greater than I have supposed (above, p. 331). In

²³ The two words, *capsa* and *casula*, are expressly distinguished the one from the other, and the former identified with the *cucullus* ("cowl," or "hood,") in a passage of the "Life of St. Nicetius," by St. Gregory of Tours. See Dr. Rock's "Church of our Fathers," vol. i., p. 316, note 1.

²⁴ See the evidence for this given in full in "Vest. Christ.," Appendix C, No. 26, *sqq.*

the life²⁵ of St. Livinus, an Irish saint and bishop (consecrated bishop by St. Augustin of Canterbury), and written, according to Dr. Rock, about 656, A.D., it is said, that on the day of his ordination St. Augustin bestowed on him *casulam purpuream auro gemmisque composita ornatam, et stolam cum orario gemmis pretiosis auroque fulgido pertextam*. Whether such a present was actually made or no, it is clear that whoever wrote this life (or this portion of it) thought that purple and gold and precious stones were appropriate ornaments for the dress of a Christian bishop. In this he differs from all the authorities whom we have quoted as expressing a contrary opinion.

§ 20. Be the true date however what it may, the *utmost* that the passage can prove is, that (in some parts at least of the Church) "splendid" dress, such as that described, had come into use as early as the beginning of the seventh century. I am in no wise concerned to dispute this; but I own I think the authority of these "Lives of the Saints" always very doubtful, when questions of date are involved, and I should be sorry therefore to build a very wide conclusion upon so very weak a base. And now but one (supposed) early authority remains, which has been appealed to as conclusive upon more than one point of interest to inquiries such as these.

§ 21. In the Greek manuscripts of the Apostolical Constitutions, and in the Eighth Book²⁶ containing the "Liturgy," there attributed to St. James, there occurs (cap. 12) the following direction as to the vesture of the Bishop. "*The Bishop (λαμπρὸν ἐσθῆτα μετενδύς) when he has put on a splendid vestment (so the words are rendered,) shall stand at the altar, and say as follows.*" This passage is supposed to prove two points, first, the use of "splendid" vestments in the third century, or thereabouts, to which these Constitutions, in their original form, may probably be referred; and secondly, that at that early date a *change of dress* was prescribed for the celebration of Holy Communion. In point of fact, it proves neither one nor the other.

§ 21. It does not prove the use of "splendid" vestments, let the date of this passage be what it may. For, as in Holy Scripture,²⁷ and in the language of Philo Judæus,²⁸ so in Greek

²⁵ See *Acta Sanctorum Ord. Ben.*, tom. ii. p. 436.

²⁶ See the *Patres Apostolici* of Joannes Clericus, p. 398, or that of Cotelerius.

²⁷ Compare Rev. xv. 6, and xix. 8, in both of which linen is described as λαμπρόν. And so the (white) dress of an angel is described as λαμπρά, by St. Luke, Acts x. 30.

²⁸ *Liber de Somniis* [Opera, fol. Paris, 1640] p. 597. "Whenever the

ecclesiastical²⁹ writers of every age, λαμπρός, which means literally "shining," is the word habitually used in speaking of a "shining" or brilliant *white*, like that of linen. It exactly answers to the Latin *candidus*, meaning a lustrous white, as distinct from *albus*, which when distinctively used, means a dull and dingy white. As one example out of many, Iobius the monk (quoted by Photius of Constantinople), speaks of the newly baptized as λαμπροφοροῦντες, wearing *white* garments. To speak of these as wearing "splendid" garments, in the modern acceptance of the term, would be simply absurd.

§ 22. But more is yet to be added. The passage itself is, almost without doubt, of very much later date than the context in which it occurs. I had long suspected this to be so, from the substitution of ἀρχιερεὺς and ἱερεῖς for the terms ἐπισκοπος and πρεσβύτεροι, which had been used as official designations only a few lines before. And I now find the strongest confirmation of this in the following facts. There are three forms in which these "Apostolical Constitutions" have been preserved—an Æthiopic, a Syriac, and a Greek Version; and of this latter the earliest manuscript dates from the eleventh century. These Æthiopic and Syriac Versions *do not contain* the rubrical direction (so to call it) of the late Greek manuscripts, in which alone these words are found. And this being so, there can be no doubt of this being but one instance out of the many which prove, that the Liturgies, *as they now come into our hands*, embody, not only the Liturgy itself, as originally committed to writing (perhaps in the fourth century), but the successive accretions³⁰ made to each from age to age, as time went on.

High Priest enters into the Most Holy Place, he putteth off his variegated vesture, and putteth on him another, made of linen, of the finest and purest kind; and this serves *as a symbol of the intensity of most brilliant light* (ἡ δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον εὐτονίας αὐγοειδεστάτου φέγγους). . . If carefully cleansed it hath a most bright (λαμπρότατον) and luminous colour." Any one who has observed the appearance of linen vestments (as worn for example in processions) in the clear and sunny air of southern lands, will know that such language is not exaggerated.

²⁹ The usage is also found, though less frequently, in other Greek writers. Cf. Hom. Odys. 19, 234....Diod. Sic. 1, 91. Polybii Hist. x. 4, 5 (where he speaks of the *toga candida* as being λαμπρά). Plutarch, too, in his *Quæstiones Romanæ* ["Vest. Christ." p. 176. No. 3.] used λευκὸς and λαμπρός as equivalent terms.

³⁰ As to the fact of such additions being made, we have a remarkable testimony from Walafrid Strabo, one of the most learned of that group of writers, on ecclesiastical subjects, who mark the brief revival of learning in the ninth century. He says (De Reb. Eccles. cap. 22) that in the first ages of the Church, Mass was celebrated after a much simpler manner than in his time it was. "Many (he goes on to say) both of the Greeks and of the Latins, have arranged the Order of Mass, as to them seemed good.

Conclusion.

§ 23. The reader has now before him all the literary evidence of importance available for the decision of the question now under discussion. The evidence of early monuments of art has already been brought under notice. And the two concur, as will now be seen, in one conclusion, that expressed in the present Lecture—that the Vestments of Christian Ministry, during the first five or six hundred years of the Christian era, were characterized by a remarkable simplicity, by an absence of gorgeous colour, and of costly ornament.

APPENDIX B.

HISTORY OF THE SURPLICE.

To English Churchmen a peculiar interest attaches to the history of the surplice, as having been, for the last three hundred years, the specially characteristic vestment of English Church usage. Though the *name* surplice¹ is comparatively modern, the vestment itself is at once more ancient, and more truly “Catholic” (to use in its true sense a very ill-used word), than any other that could be named.

For the surplice, as a vestment (the word shall be spoken of somewhat later), is nothing else than the alb, or white garment of Christian ministry *in its oldest form*; but the alb, *now* so called, though old in *name* is, in its form, of very much later date. As for the *albæ paratæ*, or richly decorated albs, of which we have heard lately, these were wholly unknown as

And the Romans, receiving their usages and observances from Peter, chief of the apostles, *have added, each in his own time, what was deemed to be suitable thereto (suis quique temporibus quæ congrua judicata sunt addiderunt).*” He enters into much detail as to many of these additions, the date and the authors of which were known, and states further that these additions were made partly by men of very great learning, partly by men of very moderate learning, partly by men whose learning was very small indeed. *Multis et ex summa scientia, et ex mediocri, et ex minima addentibus.* The whole chapter, indeed, the whole treatise, well deserves attentive study.

¹ There is no distinct evidence of the use of the word before the eleventh century. A “superpelliceum” is sent as a present to Cardinal Albinus, by Stephanus Tornacensis, in the twelfth century, and in the century before, the phrase *linea superpellicealis* is used in speaking of a vestment belonging to John, Archbishop of Rouen, 1076. (See “Vest. Christ.,” note 469, p. 227.)

vestments of Christian ministry for about a thousand years² from the time of the Apostles. The statement now made as to the full and ample surplice being more ancient in form than the narrow and closely-fitting alb, is one which is confirmed by ancient monuments, whether of literature or of art.

For literary evidence I may appeal to two passages of ancient authors, one written by St. Jerome at the close of the fourth century, the other by Amalarius early in the ninth. St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Fabiola,³ describes at great length the vestments of Levitical priesthood. And amongst other things he wishes to convey to his reader as exact an idea as may be of the linen tunic worn by Levitical priests. Of this he says (following Josephus), that "it is closely fitted to the body, and is so scanty, and with sleeves so narrow, as to show no folds in any part of it. It reaches (*ad crura*) about half way below the knee."

Such is his description of the Levitical tunic (one which might be adopted, almost in so many words, as a description of a *modern* alb). Let the reader now observe how this bears upon the question now under discussion.

We know for certain that, at the time St. Jerome wrote that letter to Fabiola, white⁴ garments were in use for the highest offices of Christian ministry. It follows that if, among the albs or white vestments then customarily worn, there had been any which corresponded *in form* to that of the Levitical vestment he describes, he could at once have referred Fabiola to this as a standard of comparison. But what is the fact? He does, indeed, look about him to find among garments, in use in his own day, one which will suggest to Fabiola the kind of tunic he is describing; and the dress which he pitches upon for the purpose of illustration is the *camisia*, or closely-fitting shirt *worn by soldiers*. It is scarcely conceivable that he should have selected this as the type to which to refer Fabiola, if there had then been in use in the churches of his time, a scanty, closely-fitting, "alb," such as that which, in comparatively recent times, has monopolized this ancient name.

But I have yet more direct testimony than this to appeal

² Weiss, in his *Kostumkunde*, p. 667, dates these as "after the tenth century." Compare Bock, *Liturgische Gewänder*, ii. p. 33, *sqq.*, and Hefele, *Beiträge*, u.s.w., p. 171, *sqq.*

³ Quoted in full, "Vest. Christ.," p. 10, *sqq.*

⁴ See his *Treatise Adv. Pelagianos*, Lib. i. (quoted in full in "Vest. Christ." p. 34). *Quæ sunt rogo inimicitie contra Deum si tunicam habuero mundiore; si Episcopus, Presbyter, et Diaconus, et reliquus ordo ecclesiasticus, in administratione sacrificiorum candida veste processerint?*

to. Some four hundred years after the date of the passage last quoted, Amalarius, in speaking of the "alba," or white tunic of Christian ministry, quotes St. Jerome's description of the Levitical vestment, and then adds:—*In eo distat illud vestimentum a nostro, quod illud strictum est, nostrum vero largum.*—[De Eccl. Off. Lib. ii. cap. 18.] The point of difference between the Levitical and the Christian tunic, according to Amalarius, is this, that the former was scanty and closely-fitted, the latter large and loose.

And now let us turn to early monuments of Christian art. What will they tell us? Their testimony, with one seeming exception, which, when closely examined, strongly confirms the rest, is entirely in accordance with that of the passages just quoted. The tunics, worn by Archbishop Maximian and his deacons in the Ravenna Mosaic, are surplices in shape, whatever they may have been in name.⁶ Those attributed to bishops of the third century, St. Cyprian of Carthage, St. Xustus, and St. Cornelius of Rome, in frescoes⁶ of the seventh or eighth century, lately discovered by De Rossi, are identical in form, and in every other particular, with those of the Ravenna Mosaic (see Plate VIII.).

But, as was intimated just now, there is an exception to this prevailing rule. Among a number of manuscript illuminations, dating from the ninth century, exact copies of which are now before me, there is one (reproduced in Plate X. above), in which a priest, officiating at holy baptism, is represented as wearing a very scanty alb, with closely-fitting sleeves, and girded at the waist, which would almost exactly correspond either with the Levitical tunic, as described by Josephus and St. Jerome, or with the late mediæval and modern alb, which is still in use in many parts of the Church.

This seeming exception is easily explained. In the administration of baptism *by immersion*, a vestment like the surplice would be the most inconvenient possible; and the picture we are now considering (Plate X.), shows us not what was the *ordinary* form of the alb (for this was *largum*, as Amalarius has told us), but the special kind of alb adapted for the office of baptism. And, accordingly, this picture serves as

⁶ They were probably called Dalmatics (*tunicæ dalmaticæ*), as the higher ecclesiastics at Ravenna claimed the privilege (so it was considered) of wearing this more particularly Roman vestment. The *tunica dalmatica* differed from the ordinary *tunica alba* in having two *clavi* in front, corresponding in appearance to our narrow black stole; and two or three still narrower borders (also black in *early* ecclesiastical monuments), round the edge of each sleeve. This ancient dalmatic has scarcely anything, save its name, in common with the modern dalmatic.

⁶ Photographed in "Vest. Christ." Pl. xxx. and xxxi.

the best possible comment upon words with which we meet elsewhere,⁷ "*præcinctio vestimenti candidi quod sacerdos baptizaturus præcingitur*;" the girding in of that white vestment which the priest girds about him for the office of baptism.

The picture above described is but one out of a large series, dating from the ninth century, exact fac-similes of which (copied and coloured from the originals in the St. Minerva Library at Rome) are before me as I write. And a comparison of all these shows, that, at that time, *all* the ecclesiastical albs in use were *talares*, reaching to the feet, like ordinary English surplices. But there was already a difference observable between two kinds of albs. One to be worn in office of baptism, or again *to be worn under a supervestment* (*casula* or *planeta*), had narrow, close-fitting sleeves, without ornament of any kind; the other with a full surplice-like sleeve, and commonly with a slight ornament at the edge,⁸ to be worn (like our own surplice in modern times), without any supervestment over it.

It is not improbable that the vestment here described (closely resembling that of the two deacons in the Ravenna Mosaic, Plate VIII.), and which looks to us like a surplice with a slight addition of ornament, is what was worn in metropolitan churches in those days in place of the simple alb, and was known then as a *dalmatic*.

In the course of the three centuries, which followed that now under consideration (the ninth), the vestments of ministry in the West, were doubled in number. One natural consequence of this was, that the *alba*, or "*linea*," worn *underneath the rest*, became more and more contracted in form. Accordingly, this narrow, close-fitting alb, which once was an exceptional form, is now the only "*alb*" recognized as such, and what we now call a surplice, is really the ampler white vestment of primitive usage, corresponding in form to that older *vestimentum largum*, contrasted by Amalarius with the close-fitting tunic of Levitical priesthood.

But the name "*superpelliceum*" is comparatively modern. is, no doubt, rightly explained by Durandus (*Rat. Div. Off. Lib. iii. cap. i.*). It is a vestment, as he says, which men wear over their ordinary dress when engaged in any service of the

⁷ In the *Expositio brevis antiquæ Liturgiæ Gallicanæ*, published by Martene (*Thesaur. Anecd. tom. v.*), and reproduced in my "*Vestiarium Christianum*," App. D.

⁸ Very simple, as worn by priests and deacons; but with a rich stripe of gold, occasionally, on that of a bishop. The most solemn dress represented in this series (that worn at the ordination of priests, in the Pontifical of Landulfus), is wholly white (both *chasubles* and *albs*), but with *stoles* and *sleeve-borders* coloured like gold.

altar, or other holy office. And this particular name, which implies further that the dress, covered by the surplice, was made of, or lined with, *fur* (*super tunicas pellicias*), indicates the origin of the name, as coming from countries such as Gaul and Britain (probably the first), in which, during winter, garments lined with fur would naturally be worn in ordinary costume. The two earliest instances (above Note 1), in which the word occurs, have reference to churches of Gaul, Tournay, and Rouen. A new name such as this would naturally come into use, for distinction's sake, as soon as two distinct forms of the "alba" became generally recognized, side by side the one with the other.



In this way we may account for the fact which certain adversely disposed critics have spoken of as too improbable to be seriously discussed — viz., that the dress attributed to an apostle by early Christian art, in Roman catacombs, should correspond exactly in appearance with the ordinary ministering dress of an English clergyman at the present day. I can only say that Plate V. in the present series is reproduced, by photography, from the engraving of Aringhus, which is really that of Bosio, the discoverer of the catacombs he describes. And any of my readers may judge for themselves whether there is anything "absurd" in saying, that the central figure of the right-hand group (spectator's right) in that plate, wears a dress precisely resembling that of an English clergyman of the present day, when vested in surplice and stole.⁹

⁹ *Description of woodcut.*—The figure above is that of a Greek Bishop in a mosaic, dating from the time of Justinian (6th century), in the church (now Mosque) of St. Sophia, at Constantinople. Both the Sticharion (*i.e.*, a long alb) and the Phelonion worn over it are white. But on the former are two stripes of red or purple (in some of the figures both one and the other) extending to the lower edge of the garment, and running also round the sleeve. Over the Phelonion is worn the Omophorion (white with red or purple crosses). The Book of the Gospels, as the symbolic designation of a Bishop (*supra*, p. 336), is held in the left hand. For further particulars as to these mosaics, see "*Vest. Christ.*," p. lxxv. (notes).

MASTER JOHN SCHORN.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A.

In the year 1867, at one of the evening meetings of the British Archæological Association, a small pilgrim's sign of pewter was laid upon the table. It had been lately discovered in the mud of the Thames near Queenhithe, in the City of London. The sign represented the Marston worthy, Master John Schorn. Some little curiosity having been expressed by the associates to know something of Schorn, his story, his shrine, and the once famous pilgrimage thereto, I was requested by the president of the meeting to draw up a paper upon the subject. I knew nothing, or almost nothing, about Master Schorn, but I was not the less willing to undertake the necessary researches. The result of my labours is comprised in two papers contained in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxiii. pp. 256—268, and pp. 370—378.

These papers having fallen under the notice of Archdeacon Bickersteth, and the council of the Buckingham Architectural and Archæological Society, I have been requested by them to prepare a further paper for insertion in the society's *Records of Buckinghamshire*. The secretary has been so good as to send me an admirable essay, by the late Rev. W. Hastings Kelke, which appeared in the *Records*, vol. ii. pp. 60—74. Had I seen this paper before my own contributions were published, I am not sure that I should have taken up the subject. We have travelled over much the same ground, have ransacked many of the same authorities, and, by a curious coincidence, have cited many passages from the same works. Mr. Kelke's paper was printed in 1859, my papers in 1867; but I was wholly ignorant of Mr. Kelke's researches till the autumn of 1868.

My task, on the present occasion, is not a very easy one. If it were to draw up a tolerably complete account of what is now known concerning Master Schorn, the labour would be easy and pleasant; but I must rather avoid the beaten track, and, carefully excluding such matters as have already appeared in the *Records of Buck-*

inghamshire, confine myself to the task of supplementing Mr. Kelke's careful and almost exhaustive essay. I must request the indulgent reader to remember that this paper is but an appendix to Mr. Kelke's, and that it will be necessary to read the two in connection, in order to obtain a comprehensive view of the subject.

The fame of Master Schorn, and the virtues of his wonder-working well, are said to have rendered the once small village of North Marston flourishing and populous. In searching through the county histories, I find that Dr. Lipscomb (*Buckinghamshire*, 4to, London, 1847) gives, by far, the fullest and most accurate account. Dominus Johannes de Schorn was rector, he informs us, of North Marston, in that county, in the year 1290. "Notwithstanding the fame of his sanctity, and his numerous miracles, no account seems to have been preserved of his family, but he was probably a monk of Christ Church, in Canterbury; and, in 1289, rector of Monks' Risborough, perhaps, a native of Shorne, in Kent" (vol. i. pp. 342, 343). In Dr. Lipscomb's notice of the rectors of Monks' Risborough he enumerates (vol. ii. p. 419), "John De Thorne, October 8, 1289, subdeacon (called, in another place, Mr. John de Schorne)," who "had letters of institution and induction to the Church of Risborough from John, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated at Croydon, having been ordained on a title to this church." The archbishop granting these letters was John Peckham.

Dr. Lipscomb was fortunate enough to discover amongst the Lansdowne MSS., a copy of Master Schorn's will, in which he directs that his body shall be buried in the chancel of North Marston Church. The document is so curious in form and expression that, although Dr. Lipscomb prints it, I transfer it to these pages. I have, of course, referred to the original MS., and I think that the version now offered will be found to be correct, *literatim et punctatim*; though it differs in a few particulars from Dr. Lipscomb's transcript.

"Copia testi b'ti Joh'is de Shorne.

"In dei Noie amen. Anno a Nativitate eiusdm̄ m' iij^o xij^o nono die Maii, cum ego Joh'es de Sharne rector

ecclie de Northemaston̄ sanus mente & corpore & in bona prosperitate pariter et senectute de miseria & breuitate huius vite cogitans aīa aduertenda p̄ dierū circulum & annor' reuelacoē Diem mortis in munere quem nullus mortaliū poterit preterire. Vtile est michi fore existimaui testando mortem puenire ne forte preoccupatus die mortis querendi spacium testandi non possum inuenire. Ex hoc igitur salubri premeditatione testando in hoc testamento meo sic dispono trifarie, ut reddā p̄mo que sunt dei deo, que sunt terre solo terre, que sunt huius seculi bona ptem relinquam pro oratorib' in mundo, partem p̄ manus pauperum differendam in celo, vt quot minus michi thesauru in celo adhuc viuus expleam ve defunctus. In primis ergo om̄ipotentī deo animam meam quam creauit filioq' eius vnigenito qui eam redemit spū sancto qui me viuificauit et viuificabit b'te marie b'to mich'i archō et omniū angelorum et aliorum sanctorū ordinibus suspiciendam et contra spiritus nequicie defendendam atq' eor' oīm consorcio lego phenniter pfruendam corpus vero meū cū p̄ exitū animē mee interiam fuerit resolutū in monumento meo ante mains Altare Ecclie mee predict' ex dum michi preparato Lego femorand' vt vbi non poteris sed marcenarii gessit officium. Ibi sit cibus vermiū explete sequidem de potissima pte. Vt puto et corpora restant de ceteris huius Seculi bonis disponere. AMEN."

The date of the document, 1413, is certainly perplexing, but I print it as it stands in the Lansdowne MS. (No. 762, fol. 2), in the British Museum; the handwriting of the MS. is *temp.* Henry VIII.

In these few facts, we have all that can be certainly ascertained of our worthy's actual biography; the legendary stories, however, are rich enough.

These veritable histories relate that Master Schorn, in a season of excessive drought, was moved by the prayers of his congregation to take active measures to supply their need. He struck his staff upon the earth, and immediately there burst forth a perennial spring. The like legend is found elsewhere. When St. Peter consecrated the church of the monastery of the Isle of

Thorns, after having been ferried over by Edric the fisherman, "he evoked with his staff the two springs of the island" (Dean Stanley's Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, second edition, p. 21). If any be incredulous, the holy well remains at Marston to this day. It soon became famous for its healing virtues. Crowds of pilgrims thronged to the village, as now-a-days invalids throng to Baden, or to Aix-la-Chapelle, to drink the healing waters. Many houses were erected to accommodate the visitors. The water was a specific for the ague.

I confess, at once, that the story of this marvellous well interested me greatly. I could hardly imagine that thousands of pilgrims, year after year, would visit the shrine in order to be cured of the ague, unless the waters had, in fact, some healing virtues; and I resolved to make a pilgrimage to the well *in propria persona*, and to bring away with me some of its water. Accordingly, on the last day of October, 1867, I set forth on a pilgrimage to the shrine and well.

The church of North Marston is pleasantly situated on a gently rising ground, of sufficient height to give to those who are willing to ascend the tower a very charming view of fertile pasture-land, studded with villages and churches; and though without any very striking features, full of that calm pastoral beauty which adds so great a charm to many an English landscape. The chancel of the church is said to have been built from the offerings of the pilgrims who once frequented the shrine of the famous rector. Three perpendicular windows occur on each side of the chancel; the middle window, however, on the north side, though its arch is filled with tracery, is not available for the transmission of light, for the vestry, and a chamber above it, block up the whole of the window, except that in its central compartment there is a rectangular opening, 1ft. 4in. in height, by 10in. in width. The vestry gives access, by a modernized staircase on its western side, to the "Priest's Chamber," as the apartment is still called, above it. This room, which measures 11ft. 3in. by 13ft. 4in., has a fireplace, and is lighted by three windows; it is said to be the chamber in which the priest lodged, whose duty it was to watch the shrine of Master Schorn. The opening, mentioned above, is

about 4ft. 7in. from the floor of this apartment, and commands a view of the southern end of the present altar. Some of the villagers, in whose mouths Master Schorn's name is still familiar as a household word, believe that the chamber was tenanted by that famous worthy; but the perpendicular architecture of the priest's room is a sufficient answer to the tradition. From this upper chamber, a spiral stair gives access to the roof, upon which, say the villagers, "the priest used to walk."

I will not linger in the church, but will hasten at once to the wonder-working well. It is unnecessary to describe the present rude structure covering and enclosing the well, Mr. Kelke having given a ground plan with measurements, and a careful account of it. I arrived to find its door grated and securely padlocked; for it seems that a villager, some few years since, descending the steps to fill her pails with water, fell into the cistern and was drowned. The pilgrim who desires to taste the sacred spring is compelled to avail himself of a pump to gain access to the healing waters. This same pump sadly destroys the last vestige of romance that still might be supposed to linger about the scene. To journey all those miles to see the once holy well, and then to find a pump. "Oh! what a falling off was there."

The present vicar was so good as to inform me that the well was fed by a spring rising upon the spot, and not, as some have said, by a stream whose source is on Oving Hill. And further, I was informed that a sheep trough hard by has often been mistaken for the well itself, and, indeed, in one published account, has been described as the holy well.

With a view to settle the question as to the qualities of the water, since I could not believe that thousands of pilgrims would have visited the shrine unless they derived some material benefit from their visit, I brought away with me a small quantity for analysis. Much more, however, than I had taken being required to render the analysis certain, the Rev. Richard Knight, the vicar of the parish, most kindly sent me two gallons of the water. Dr. Bernays, of St. Thomas's Hospital, with that ready liberality and courtesy which characterize men

of science, willingly undertook to make a careful analysis of the water, with a special view to ascertain its medicinal qualities. This analysis, which is quantitative as well as qualitative, and which shows the water to contain some remarkable ingredients, I now, by Dr. Bernays' kind permission, subjoin—

“ANALYSIS OF THE WATER FROM SIR JOHN SCHORN'S WELL.

“The water from Sir John Schorn's Well is somewhat out of the common, and is doubtless, to a certain extent, medicinal. The analysis is not complete; but as you are desirous to have an opinion about the water, so as to publish it with your report, I have no hesitation in supplying the following information:—

“The filtered water is beautifully clear, and bright, and sparkling, from the quantity of free carbonic acid which it contains. One litre of the water contains 1·081, or $1\frac{81}{1000}$ grammes of salts. On boiling this water, and treating it on approved chemical principles, it deposits 0·307 grms. of lime carbonate, with a minute trace of magnesia and iron carbonate. This lime-carbonate is held in solution by free carbonic acid, as so-called bi-carbonate of lime. In addition, I find in solution in one litre of water:—

	Grms.
Chlorine	0·0276
Sulphuric Acid	0·1354
Silica	0·0180
Lime	0·0142
Magnesia	0·0900
	0·2852

Somewhat more than $\frac{1}{4}$ gramme of salts in the form of lime-sulphate (gypsum), and magnesia-sulphate (Epsom salts), with magnesium chloride. The remaining salts (not yet estimated), are potash and soda-carbonate.

“(Signed) ALBERT J. BERNAYS,

“Prof. of Chemistry at St. Thomas's Hospital.

“N.B.—One litre = 1·76 pint, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ pint. One gramme = 15·432 grs., or $15\frac{32}{1000}$ grains.”

We have now discussed the historical matters, and the matters of fact, that relate to Master Schorn and to

his well: let us pass on to some literary notices of him. It would be foreign to my purpose to repeat those passages that have been cited by Mr. Kelke. There is, however, a very curious mention made of the boot, Schorn's special emblem, in Thomas Becon's Catechism (Parker Soc. Edition, 8vo, Cambridge, 1844, p. 65):—

“Can God be worthily called upon in that place where so many mawmets stand contrary to the commandment of God? Can God be worshipped there, in spirit and truth, where so many idols are seen, which have neither spirit nor truth? What garnishing of the Church is this, to see a sort of puppets stand in every corner of the church. Some holding in their hands a sword, some a sceptre, some a spit, some a butcher's knife, some a gridiron, some a pair of pinsons, some a spear, some an anchor of a ship, some a shoemaker's cutting knife, some a shepherd's hook, some a cross, some a cup, some a boot, some a book, some a key, some a lamb, some an ox, some a pig, some a dog, some a basket of flowers, some a crozier staff, some a triple cross, some an arrow, some an horn, some an hawk, etc.; some bearded, some unbearded, some capped, some uncapped, some weeping, some laughing, some gilded, some painted, some housed, some unhoused, some rotten, some worm-eaten, some coated, some cloaked, some gowned, some naked, some censed, some perfumed, some with holy water sprinkled, some with flowers and garlands garnished, etc.”

Mr. Kelke cites a passage from Latimer's Sermons, but omits a note added to that passage by the learned editor of the Parker Society's Edition, Professor Corrie, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge; who says of Master Schorn:—

“A saint whose headquarters are probably in the parishes of Shorn and Marston, near Gravesend, but who seems to have had shrines in other parts of the country.”

In Murray's Handbook for Kent, I find a similar statement:—

“Maister John Shorne seems to have had shrines at Shorne, one mile beyond Cobham Park, and at Marston, near Gravesend. He had a chapel at Windsor, etc.”

I find no reference to Master Schorn in Hasted's Kent, either at Marston or at Shorne. In Murray's Handbook for Bucks it is suggested that

“The village of Schorne, near Rochester, was probably called after him.”

If our worthy had any connection with that place at all, I should think it more likely that he derived his name from the locality, than that the locality took its name from him. Indeed, I doubt altogether the alleged connection of the rector of North Marston with either of the Kentish villages.

I am equally sceptical as to the alleged fact, which has many times been put forward, that Master Schorn had an image at Canterbury; and I must beg to be allowed to examine the question with some little minuteness. I find in Mr. Kelke's essay the following sentence: “There appears to have been an image of Sir John Schorn at Canterbury, or some other object designed to excite veneration towards him.” In support of this statement, which has been made by many writers, the only evidence brought forward is a line in Heywood's “Play of the Four P's—

“At Maister John Shorne, in Canterbury.”

The quotation, taken from a late edition, has been assumed to be correct, and the Canterbury shrine bids fair to become a matter of history. I do not believe that there was any such shrine at Canterbury, and I will give my reasons.

I find in the British Museum two early editions of Heywood's curious play. That which appears to be the earliest is in small quarto, without a date, and the lines are entirely without punctuation. [Press Mark, C. 34. c. 43]. The title is:—

¶ The playe called the four PP.

¶ A newe and a very mery enterlude of
 A palmer.
 A pardoner.
 A potycary.
 A pedler.

made by John Heewood.

The colophon reads thus:—

¶ Imprynted at London in Flete strete at the
 sygne of the George by Wyllyam Myddylton:

I will now transcribe, *literatim*, the first sixty-three lines of the piece, premising only that the numbering of the lines has been introduced by myself, in order to facilitate reference.

PALMER.

- Nowe god be here who kepeth this place
 Now by my fayth I crye you mercy
 Of reason I must sew for grace
 My rewdnes sheweth me no so homely
 5 Whereof your pardon axt and wonne
 I sew you as curtesy doth me bynde
 To tell thys whiche shalbe begonne
 In order as may come beste in myndy
 I am a palmer as ye se
 10 Whiche of my lyfe much part hath spent
 In many a fayre and farre countre
 As pylgrymes do of good intent
 At Hierusalem haue I bene
 Before Chrystes blessed sepulture
 15 The Mount of Caluery haue I sene
 A holy place ye may be sure
 To Josophat and Olyuete
 On fote god wote I wente ryght bare
 Many a salt tere dyde I swete
 20 Before thys carkes coude come there
 Yet haue I bene at Rome also
 And gone the stacions all arow
 Saynt peters shryne and many mo
 Then yf I tolde all ye do know
 25 Except that there be any suche
 That hath ben there and diligently
 Hath taken hede and marked muche
 Then can they speke as muche as I
 Then at the Rodes also I was
 30 And rounde about to Amyas
 At saynt Toncomber and saynt Tronion
 At saynt Bothulph and saynt Anne of Buckston
 On the hylles of Armony where I sec Noes arke
 With holy Job and saynt George in Suthwarke
 35 At Waltam and at Walsyngam
 And at the good rode of dagnam
 At saynt Comelys at saynt James in Gales

And at saynt Wynefydes well in Walles
 At our lady of Boston at saynt Edmundes byry
 40 And streyght to saynt Patrykes purgatory
 At rydybone and at the blood of Hayles
 Where pylgrymes paynes ryght much auayles
 At saynt Dauys and at saynt Denis
 At saynt Mathew and saynt Marke in Venis
 45 At mayster Johan Shorne at Canterbury
 The great god of Katewade at Kynge Henry
 At saynt Sauyours at our lady of Southwell
 At Crome at Wylsdome and at Muswell
 At saynt Rycharde and at saynt Roke
 50 And at our lady that standeth in the oke
 To these with other many one
 Deuotly haue I prayed and gone
 Prayeng to them to pray for me
 Unto the blessed trynnye
 55 By whose prayers and my dayly payne
 I truste the soner to obtaye
 For my saluacyon grace and mercy
 For be ye sure I thynke surely
 Who seketh sayntes for Crystes sake
 60 And namely suche as payne do take
 On fote to punyshe thy frayle body
 Shall therby meryte more hyely
 Than by any thyng done by man

Line 45 is that on which the whole question hinges. Now, in all the adjacent lines two places of pilgrimage are mentioned, and in line 48 no less than three. Is it not, therefore, highly probable, that in line 45 two places also are indicated: the one Master Schorn, his shrine at North Marston or at Windsor; the other the famous shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury? Long as is the list of places of pilgrimage enumerated, the world-renowned shrine of Thomas à Becket finds no place in it, if it be not here mentioned. And I cannot believe it to be at all probable that the palmer would omit to mention this, the shrine which Erasmus, in his *Colloquies*, mentions as not inferior to Walsingham itself.

And here, *en parenthèse*, it may be well to point out, that in the passage cited from Latimer the pilgrimage to Master John Schorn and to our Lady of Walsingham are

coupled together; which may well serve to show in how great repute was the former, since the latter shrine was one of the most famous places of pilgrimage in England.

The error, for such I believe it to be, seems to me to have arisen from the punctuation, and from a verbal alteration, introduced into the later editions of Heywood's play. Thus, I find in the British Museum another early edition of "The Play called the foure P."

¶ Imprinted at London at the long shop adjoining unto
S. Mildreds Church in the Pultrie, by John Alde.
Anno Domini . 1569 . Septembris . 14.

Also in black letter and in small 4to, by "Thon Heywood," as the colophon informs us. This edition is punctuated; and here line 45 reads thus:—

At Maister John Shorne in Canterbury :

which version appears also in "A Select Collection of Old Plays, in Twelve Volumes." [Dodsley's.] Edited by Isaac Reed, Octavius Gilchrist, and the Editor, C. 8vo, London, 1825. From this, as I believe, erroneous reading, springs the notion of a shrine of Schorn at Canterbury. I call the reading of this copy erroneous, because it substitutes "in Canterbury" for the "at Canterbury" of the earlier copy, thus making the line entirely different from the adjacent lines; and, in fact, assigning to it a new meaning not found in the original: and further, because the semicolon at the end of the line, and the absence of any stop in the middle, separate the line from the context, and make it appear to contain a complete statement. An antiquary of considerable note, resident in the cathedral city, knows nothing of the alleged shrine: in fact, I believe it to be simply a printer's error.

Nor am I by any means certain that the ballad, intituled

Newes to Northumberlande yt skylles not where
To Sir John Shorne a church rebell there,

refers at all to our worthy. "Sir John" was but the ordinary name for a priest, and the epithet "shorne" may refer only to the tonsure.



COWELL'S ANASTATIC PRESS. IPSWICH

Figure on the Rood Screen at CAWSTON Norfolk.

Pl. I.



Figure on the Rood Screen at GATELEY Norfolk

Pl. 2.

.88.



0 1 2 3 4 5 6 12 inches
 One fifth of real size.

Figure on a Rood Screen panel late in the possession of Gainsborough
 Dupont Esq.^r Sudbury Suffolk.



Figure on the Rood Screen at Suffield Norfolk.

A well-known correspondent of *Notes and Queries* says quaintly enough of Sir John's boot:—

“If invoked for the gout also, it is not unlikely that this emblem may have been intended to represent cures of that excruciating malady obtained by his intercession. This is mere conjecture; but it is, perhaps, worth quite as much as any other hazarded upon Sir John Schorn's devil and boot.” (F. C. H. in *N. and Q.*, 3rd series, vol. vii. p. 413.)

A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1865, p. 93, adds to the usually-received catalogue of the medicinal virtues of the well:—

“I was assured that a glass of it drunk at night will cure any cold ere daybreak.” [Mr. John Burham Safford, *loco citato.*]

It is high time that we arrived at a notice of the painted effigies of Master Schorn, now known to archaeologists. These are four in number.

I. On the rood screen at Cawston, Norfolk. This figure is described in a paper by the Rev. James Bulwer, in *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. ii. p. 283, where also it forms the subject of a full page plate.

II. On the rood screen at Gateley, Norfolk. Described and figured in the Rev. Mr. Bulwer's paper, *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. ii. p. 280; and also figured in *Records of Buckinghamshire*, vol. ii. p. 63, in Mr. Kelke's paper; and in Chambers's *Book of Days*, under May 8, with a short notice from the pen, I believe, of Mr. Kelke.

III. On a panel at Sudbury, in Suffolk, lately in the possession of Gainsborough Dupont, Esq., a resident in that town. Described and figured in the *Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute's Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 222.

IV. On the rood screen at Suffield, Norfolk. Figured and described in my paper in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxiii. p. 370.

As these four figures are now (for the first time) collected together as illustrations of a paper upon Master Schorn, it is hardly necessary for me to describe them: it will be sufficient to say that if approximate dates of the four rood-screen paintings be desired, I think we shall not

be far from the truth if we arrange them in the following order:—

Cawston, <i>circa</i> 1450		Gateley, <i>circa</i> 1480
Suffield, <i>circa</i> 1450		Sudbury, <i>circa</i> 1550

In the next place, I would enumerate the pilgrims' signs, which indeed formed the *point de depart* of my investigations.

Mr. T. D. E. Gunston, an active member of the British Archæological Association, was fortunate enough to obtain the finest specimen yet discovered. Under an elaborate canopy, Master Schorn is represented standing in a pulpit, and holding in his right hand the mystic boot. See pl. v., fig. 1. Discovered at Queenhithe, London. This unique and very curious signaculum Mr. Gunston has, with great generosity, presented to me, knowing that I have taken much interest in the history of this Buckinghamshire worthy.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., another diligent member of the same association, has had the good fortune to obtain no less than four signs of Master Schorn.

The first, which is in form an irregular oval, one inch and four-tenths in its longer diameter, by one inch and one-tenth in its shorter, exhibits a full-length figure of our hero in gown and hood. On the sinister side is a long boot; its length is about equal to half the height of the figure, and from it, half imprisoned, emerges the foul fiend: the whole surrounded by a border of cable pattern. Discovered 1866, at Queenhithe. See pl. v., fig. 2.

The next is a brooch, measuring six-tenths of an inch in height by nine-tenths in breadth. Master Schorn stands in a pulpit, under a triangular canopy, grasping with both hands a boot which equals in length the height of the pulpit, and at the upper part of which the head of the captive spirit is to be seen. The preacher wears a gown and a closely-fitting cap. On the sinister side of the pulpit stands a flower vase. Discovered at Queenhithe, 1864. See plate v., fig. 3.

The two remaining signs represent the pulpit, and a portion of the standing figure, with the familiar gesture. These were also found at Queenhithe, in 1867 and 1868. See pl. v., figs. 4 and 5.



*Pilgrims' signs found in the Thames at Queenhithe
actual size.*

It is not a little interesting to observe, that whilst shrines and other substantial memorials of Master Schorn have perished, these fragile brooches of pewter should remain, and, after the lapse of centuries, should recall attention to a person who, however mythical may be the legends that surround him, was once famous throughout the kingdom.

I am very glad to be able to conclude my paper with a notice of two representations of Master Schorn, hitherto, so far as I am aware, undescribed. I am indebted to Mr. H. Watling, a correspondent resident in Suffolk, for enabling me to communicate the discovery. Being aware that I have taken much interest in the subject of Master Schorn, he was good enough, at my request, to ransack his stores of tracings, and was rewarded by discovering a copy, made as far back as 1838, of a figure in stained glass, then in possession of a gentleman residing at Bury St. Edmunds. He immediately transmitted the tracing to me, expressing a hope that it might bear some reference to the Marston worthy. I am delighted to say that there can be no doubt that Master Schorn is here represented. The figure is nearly thirteen inches in height, and is vested in a cassock coloured pink, over which is a full-sleeved gown of white: the gown is edged with yellow, and the sleeves lined with the same colour. The head is bare, exhibiting the tonsure. In his left hand is an open book, and in the right the long boot, coloured yellow and carmine, out of which appears the foul fiend, in form like a winged dragon, coloured yellow, with forked projecting tongue and formidable fangs. The dragon has almost entirely escaped from the boot, and the saint's countenance wears an expression of unmitigated alarm; and well it may, for the dragon looks extremely fierce, his wings extended, his horns and ears erect, his looks defiant. This is, I believe, the only figure of the Marston worthy in stained glass yet observed: would that I could discover the original. There was once a representation of Master Schorn in painted glass in the east window of North Marston Church; and there were other figures in the windows of the Lincoln Chapel, Windsor, whither his shrine was removed from North Marston, in 1478. Is it possible that this figure may have been an ornament of either of these structures?

or is it more likely that, as Mr. Watling was informed, the piece of glass may have been taken from the old abbey at Bury St. Edmunds? I have caused inquiries to be made, to discover, if possible, its present habitat.

As the picture just described is, so far as I am aware, the only known representation of Master Schorn in glass, so that about to be described is the only known illumination upon vellum which exhibits the effigy of the Rector of North Marston. Mr. Watling discovered the single leaf from which his tracing is taken, in the possession of a gentleman, who in 1838, the year of the discovery, was resident at Clare, in Suffolk, and who had purchased it at Thetford. It seems likely that the leaf had formed part of an antiphonarium. The representation differs materially from each and all of those already enumerated. The saint is kneeling with his face towards the sinister—his head slightly elevated towards heaven—the hands raised in prayer. We are reminded of the local tradition that Master Schorn's knees became horny from his frequent devotion. Before him lies the empty boot: the dragon has escaped from it, and as it flies away, turns to snarl at the kneeling figure, on whose face is a calm expression, undisturbed by the claws, forked tail, horns, and fierce jaws of the threatening monster. In the background is an undulating country, through which meanders the stream called into existence by the prayers of our hero. Behind him is the foul fiend himself, in human shape, winged, and having a forked tail; in lieu of feet three sharp claws terminate each leg; in his hand he bears a kind of halbert, armed with two hooks. Master Schorn wears a cassock, and a long flowing gown with an embroidered border round the neck and sleeves, and a large hood thrown back, so that the whole head is seen. The tonsure is strongly marked. Around the head is a broad ring or nimbus of gold. A peculiar interest attaches to this representation, as it is the first yet discovered in any ancient book of devotion. Above the head, in large letters, with illuminated capitals, is the inscription, nearly defaced—

.. JOHĒS CH . . .

The whole leaf was sadly worn when Mr. Watling saw it in 1838, and seemed to be disfigured, as if it had been

used as a plaything by children. I suppose that the name of our hero had been spelt CHORN, omitting the initial s.

I will briefly enumerate some sources of information on the subject of Master John Schorn, for the benefit of those who may care to pursue the study further.

1. Remarks on a figure represented on the rood-loft screens of Gateley and Cawston churches, by the Rev. James Bulwer.—“Norfolk Archæology,” vol. ii. pp. 280, 290.
2. Master John Shorne, the Marston Saint, by the Rev. W. Hastings Kelke.—“Records of Buckinghamshire,” vol. ii. pp. 60—74.
3. Chambers’s “Book of Days,” notice under May 8; also by the Rev. W. Hastings Kelke.
4. Notice of rood-screen panel in the possession of Gainsborough Dupont, Esq. — “Proceedings of Bury and West Suffolk Archæol. Inst.,” vol. i. p. 222.
5. “Notes and Queries.” Various Notices. 1st series, vol. ii. pp. 387, 420, 450; 3rd series, vol. vii. p. 413.
6. On Master John Schorn, by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson.—“Journal Brit. Archæol. Association,” vol. xxiii. pp. 256—268.
7. Master John Schorn, his church and well at North Marston, Buckinghamshire, by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson.—*Ibid.*, pp. 370—378.

I must beg to be allowed to express my thanks to my old friend, Mr. Cato, for his careful reduction of the Sudbury figure; to Mr. Gunston, for his drawing of the very curious pilgrims’ sign lately in his collection; to Mr. H. Watling, for tracings of the two figures last described, and for his great courtesy in communicating to me these discoveries; and to Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., for drawings of no less than four pilgrims’ signs in his large and valuable collection.

W. S. S.

CHURCHES WHICH HAVE BEEN LATELY BUILT OR RESTORED.

FLEET MARSTON.—The little church of Fleet Marston, dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin, has recently been reopened, after a thorough restoration promoted and completed by the Ven. Archdeacon Bickersteth, D.D., under the direction of G. G. Scott, Esq., R.A., Architect.

Before giving an account of the church and its restoration, it may be interesting to offer a few historical notices of the parish.

Fleet Marston, a small oblong parish of little more than nine hundred acres, lies about three miles north-west of Aylesbury, on the road to Bicester. The new line of railway from Aylesbury to Buckingham, by the Verney Junction, sweeps round the eastern boundary of the parish, passing very near to the church. The parish lies in the low flat, where the watershed from Stewkley and Whitchurch receives the drainage from the high ground of Quainton and Oving, and passing underneath the elevated ridge of Upper Winchendon, forms the principal tributary of the Thame. From this circumstance it takes its name of Fleet Marston, or *running marsh town*.

The early history of the parish is involved in much obscurity. The first possessor of the manor of note, after the conquest, was GILBERT DE BELLA AQUA, in the twelfth century. Early in the thirteenth century his possessions were found to be in the hands of JOHN DE CHESNEY and MILO NERNUYT, in right of his two daughters, Alice and Maud, their respective wives, as co-heiresses. Not long afterwards we find the name of Verney connected with this property; and in the reign of Henry VIII., Fleet Marston is mentioned in the settlement made by Sir Ralph Verney upon Elizabeth Breton, his third wife. Thence it passed to his grandson, Edmund Verney, and was by him conveyed to Sir Richard Anderson, Bart., in 1652. In 1729 the representatives of Sir R. Anderson sold this portion of the Fleet Marston estate to the trustees of the Duke of Marlborough, in whose family it remained till 1822, when it was conveyed to William Williams, Esq., of Wandsworth. This property included about 600 acres.

The other portions of the estate of Gilbert de Bellâ Aquâ passed, by the marriage of his second daughter, Maud, to the family of Nernuyt. There appear to have been several Rectors of Fleet Marston of that name between 1245 and 1312. From that family it passed by marriage to the Herveys (Marquis of Bristol), and was sold by Sir George Hervey's representatives in the sixteenth century to the family of Lee. Sir Henry Lee died possessed of this manor and the advowson in 1611. Ultimately this property was sold by the twelfth Viscount Dillon to John Tirel Morin, Esq., of Weedon Lodge in Hardwick. From him it passed to his only daughter, Jane Elizabeth, wife of Captain Salusbury Humphreys; and under a local and private Act of Parliament, dated June 10, 1809, "for vesting part of his devised estates," it was sold to William Williams, Esq., who ultimately became possessed of the whole property of the parish, excepting only the large meadow in which the church stands, and the acre of glebe attached to what was the rectory-house, now converted into three cottages.

It should be mentioned that Medmenham Abbey held lands in Fleet Marston and in Blackgrove in the fourteenth century, and until the dissolution, the value being then estimated at £3 0s. 9½d.

The large meadow called Chapel Ground is said to have been in 1694 in the possession of Thomas Somner, of Cuddington, from whom it descended to his son, Henry Somner, a Magistrate for the county, who took the name of Sedley. This ground was ultimately sold by Mr. Grace to Wm. Rickford, Esq., in January, 1813, from whom it passed in right of his daughter, Lady Cooper, to her son, Sir Astley P. Cooper, Bart., the present proprietor.

Upon the death of Miss Williams, the only daughter of Mr. Williams, in 1867, the Fleet Marston estates were sold, New College, Oxford, purchasing Putlowes* (or *hill pond*), one of the finest grazing farms in the county, and Christ Church purchasing the other portions.

The Advowson passed from the co-heiresses of Gilbert de Bellâ Aquâ to the successive possessors of the principal estate, until after the conveyance of that property by Charles, twelfth Viscount Dillon, to John Tirel Morin,

* Putlowes;—from *putta*, a pond; and *lowe*, or *loe*, a hill.

Esq., of Weedon Lodge. After his death, and that of his daughter, Mrs. Salusbury Humphreys, in 1808, the advowson was severed from the estate, and conveyed to Mr. Dobree, whose son, the Rev. John Gale Dobree, became patron and rector. It has thence passed through several hands to the present patron and rector, the Rev. Wm. Wilson King.

The church is of small dimensions, but possesses some interesting architectural features. It now consists of nave and chancel only, with north porch; but it is not improbable that there may have been formerly a south aisle, the southern wall of the nave being apparently of later date than the rest of the building, with a four-light window evidently brought from elsewhere, reduced in size, and otherwise adapted to its present position. The west-end gable seems, from its one-sidedness, to justify this conclusion. In most other respects the church is of Early Decorated character. The chancel arch in particular deserves notice; the capitals from which the arch springs, containing the characteristic ball flowers in the hollow of the moulding; there are also the remains of the stone screen which originally separated the chancel from the nave. The roof of the chancel is entirely new, with the exception of the tie-beam (the only relic of the old roof), from which there now rises a king post, with other ornamental features, in harmony with the general character of the building. At the east end of the chancel, there is a small fourteenth century hooded single-light window. This window has been filled with stained glass, and is the gift of Mrs. Bickersteth. It contains the figure of the Virgin and Child, the work of Messrs. Burlison and Grylls. There are two other single-light windows in the chancel on the north and south sides, and one double light, square-headed window on the south side eastwards, in the cill of which was discovered, in the course of the restoration, an ancient piscina. There is also an aumbry or credence shelf in the north wall. But the most interesting feature in the church is the roof of the nave, an original and massive structure of the Decorated period. It consists of a succession of queen posts, with springs or braces, resting on strong tie-beams of rude but substantial workmanship. This roof had, for many years, been hidden by a low, flat ceiling, but is now laid open, and thoroughly

repaired, and is highly ornamental. Externally, the buttresses have been rebuilt, their foundations being carried down to a bed of gravel, an admirable natural concrete, lying below the loamy clay on which the old foundations insecurely rested. The walls have been fresh pointed, and two elegant stone crosses have been erected at the gable ends of the chancel and nave respectively. Internally, the church is fitted with open benches of deal in the nave, with a small screened inclosure at the west end, which serves the purpose of a vestry. The pulpit is of oak, supported upon a stone basement, and all the chancel furniture is of oak also. The altar cloth, given by Mrs. Bickersteth, is of rich Utrecht velvet, and the carpet for the altar steps was worked specially for the church, and presented to it by Mrs. C. Hooper. The stonework was executed by Mr. W. W. Thompson, of Aylesbury; the woodwork by Mr. Crook, of Waddesdon; the painting and leadwork by Mr. Goss, of Aylesbury. A small fund, raised some years ago by the Rev. H. Wanklyn, a former rector of the parish, and which had accumulated to about £250, formed the nucleus of the restoration fund, to which both the present owners and the occupiers have contributed generously. Amongst the former are Christ Church, Oxford, £100; New College, Oxford, £100; the Dowager Lady Cooper, £50; J. Du Pre, Esq., the owner of the adjoining parish of Quarendon (the inhabitants of which resort to Fleet Marston Church), £50, etc. Of the occupiers, Mr. William Mason, the churchwarden, contributed £25; Mr. Sanders, £10; Mr. J. P. Terry, £20; Mrs. Simons, £10; Mr. Thorpe, £5, etc. The whole cost of the work has been between £700 and £800; a moderate sum, when it is remembered that it includes the thorough renovation of both the interior and the exterior.

The church was re-opened by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, April 11, 1869, in the presence of Archdeacon Bickersteth, J. G. Hubbard, Esq., Mrs. FitzGerald, of Shalston House, near Buckingham, the Rev. W. R. Fremantle, Rural Dean, etc. The collection (exclusive of £20 from Mr. J. P. Terry, and £10 from Mrs. FitzGerald), was £15, 16s. 10d. The Archdeacon preached the following Sunday, when £8, 3s. 2d. was collected.

CHETWODE CHURCH.

June 12th, 1868.

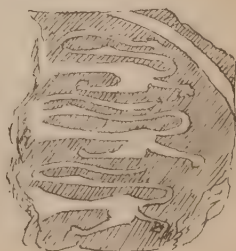
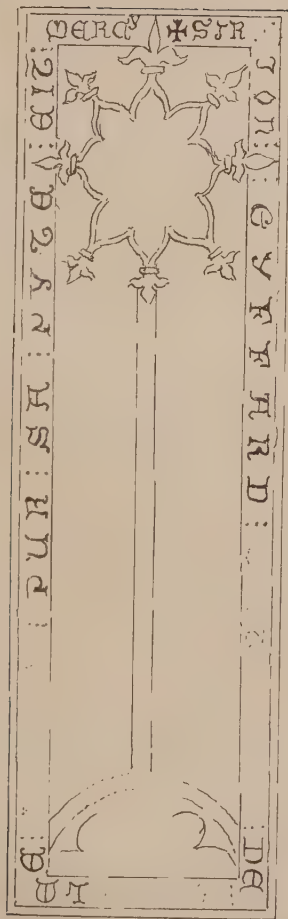
MY DEAR SIR,—I have been prevented, by various avocations, from reducing into proper form the scanty materials which present themselves towards throwing light on the history of the very interesting incised slab, of which I send a sketch.

During some recent repairs and renovations of the conventual church at Chetwode, it became apparent that beneath the brick pavement, long since covered, in its turn, with a wooden floor, there existed the original tile paving; this, indeed, has been the case not only in the chancel, now retained as a parish church, but also in the yard in front, formerly the nave of the conventual edifice. This latter has been much broken into in digging graves, but under the pathway the tiles are nearly perfect. Some specimens of the tiles composing this floor are here drawn—two of them the original size; of these, one presents two grotesque figures, intended, I conceive, to illustrate the bliss of celibacy by an exhibition of the possible inconveniences of conjugal life. The other is a head, forming a man's face one way, and a lion's if reversed. The German double-headed eagle, I cannot account for; the lions of England correspond with those remaining in a side window of the chancel.

The slab was discovered at the middle of the south side of the chancel, close to the wall. The date is that of about 1360. The inscription is, in parts, totally effaced, but as to the rest, as perfect as when first cut, and beautifully executed, as is also the floriated cross. The full inscription, no doubt, ran: "Sir Jon Gyffard gist icye De sa alme Dieu pur sa pitie eit mercy." Next comes the question, "Who was Sir John Gyffard?"

The history of the great baronial house of Giffard is to be gleaned from Browne Willis and White Kennet, as fully as materials exist for deducing it. The story is divisible into two epochs, separated by not many years, but not, apparently, capable of being now reliably connected as to family ties.

Of Walter Giffard, the cousin of William the Conqueror, any notice would be superfluous; but you will see that his male issue was considered to be extinct in two



Slab in Chetwode Church. &c.



Encaustic tiles

generations. The Giffards of Twyford arose shortly afterwards, and in 1350 Sir John Giffard obtained license to establish an oratory at his house there. He had a son, Sir Richard; and Thomas Giffard, who died in 1450, has a well-preserved monument in Twyford Church. Two slabs, defaced, of an earlier date, exist, which Willis concludes to be the tombs of Sir John and his son; but I think the conclusion is inevitable, that Sir John was a benefactor of Chetwode, and was there interred.

Later on in the family history, Thomas Wenman, who was M.P. for Buckingham in 1571, married Ursula, the heiress of these Giffards, and it is then stated without reservation that she was lineally descended from the Conqueror's cousin, any awkward doubts having evidently been got rid of by lapse of time. The arms of both branches of the family were those of England, with the difference of *silver* lions.

I am constrained to refer you to the above-named authorities, with these few suggestions.

I remain, my dear sir, very truly yours,

G. H. S.

Rev. C. Lowndes.

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